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1. REPORT DATE **2008**	2. REPORT TYPE	3. DATES COVERED **00-00-2008 to 00-00-2008**

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE **Europe's Role in Nation-Building From the Balkans to the Congo**	5a. CONTRACT NUMBER
	5b. GRANT NUMBER
	5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER
6. AUTHOR(S)	5d. PROJECT NUMBER
	5e. TASK NUMBER
	5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) **Rand Corporation,1776 Main Street,PO Box 2138,Santa Monica,CA,90407-2138**	8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)	10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)
	11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)

12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

14. ABSTRACT

15. SUBJECT TERMS

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT **unclassified**	b. ABSTRACT **unclassified**	c. THIS PAGE **unclassified**	**Same as Report (SAR)**	**344**	

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EUROPE'S ROLE IN NATION-BUILDING

FROM THE BALKANS TO THE CONGO

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Left cover photo: European Union police officer Maria Donk from the Netherlands carries an EU flag during a ceremony in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, on January 1, 2003 (AP Photo/Hidajet Delic). Right cover photo: French Private Delalande Matthieu says goodbye to villagers as French troops leave Sheri Base in Bunia, August 30, 2003 (AP Photo/Sayyid Azim).

Preface

This monograph results from the RAND Corporation's continuing program of self-initiated independent research. Support for such research is provided, in part, by donors and by the independent research and development provisions of RAND's contracts for the operation of its U.S. Department of Defense federally funded research and development centers.

This research was conducted within the RAND National Security Research Division (NSRD) of the RAND Corporation. NSRD conducts research and analysis for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, the Unified Commands, the defense agencies, the Department of the Navy, the U.S. Intelligence Community, allied foreign governments, and foundations. For more information on the RAND National Security Research Division, contact the Director of Operations, Nurith Berstein. She can be reached by email at Nurith_Berstein@rand.org; by phone at 703-413-1100, extension 5469; or by mail at RAND, 1200 South Hayes Street, Arlington VA 22202-5050. More information about the RAND Corporation is available at www.rand.org.

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Summary

Since 1989, nation-building has become a growth industry. In two prior volumes, RAND has analyzed the United States' and United Nations' (UN's) performance in this sphere, examining instances in which one or the other led such operations. In this monograph, we look at Europe's performance, taking six instances in which European institutions or national governments have exercised comparable leadership. To complete our survey of modern nation-building, we have also included a chapter describing Australia's operation in the Solomon Islands.

In previous volumes, we defined *nation-building* as the use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to promote a durable peace and representative government. By specifying the use of armed force, we are not suggesting that compulsion is always necessary or even desirable, nor do we mean to imply that only armed force is used in such missions. The European Union has, indeed, become quite adept at mounting nonmilitary interventions in support of conflict resolution. We do believe that peace operations that include a military component can be usefully grouped together for analytical purposes, however, since the employment of force and the integration of military and civil instruments impose particular demands.

Neither, in employing the term *nation-building* to describe this activity, are we seeking to distinguish it from what the United Nations calls *peace-building*, what the U.S. government calls *stabilization and reconstruction*, and what many European governments prefer to call *state-building*. *Nation-building* is the term most commonly used in

American parlance, but any of these other phrases may serve equally well; those who prefer can substitute one or the other without injury to our argument.

This is not a comprehensive study of all nation-building operations that have involved European countries. European troops, police, civilian advisers, and money have supported nearly every such operation over the past 60 years. Rather, it is a study of the European role in six cases in which the European Union or a European government led all or a key part of such an operation: Albania, Sierra Leone, Macedonia, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Bosnia.

There are obvious difficulties in distinguishing among U.S.-, UN-, and European-led nation-building, since many international peace operations involve the participation of all three. Nevertheless, it should make a difference whether military command is being exercised from Washington, New York, Brussels, Paris, or London. This study was intended to explore those differences. Previous volumes looked at the distinctive U.S. and UN approaches to these sorts of missions. This one seeks to determine whether there is an identifiable European way of nation-building, and if so, what we can learn from it.

All eight of the U.S.-led operations studied in the first volume were "green-helmeted": They were commanded by the U.S. military or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), at least at some point in their evolution.[1] All nine of the UN-led cases in the second volume were "blue-helmeted": They were directed by the UN secretary-general and local UN representatives.[2] In principle, there is a clear distinction between the two types of command, even if several of the operations did move from one category to the other over the course of their conduct. Somalia, for example, started as a UN-led mission, transitioned to U.S. command, and then became a hybrid

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[1]   See James Dobbins, John G. McGinn, Keith Crane, Seth G. Jones, Rollie Lal, Andrew Rathmell, Rachel M. Swanger, and Anga Timilsina, *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MR-1753-RC, 2003.

[2]   See James Dobbins, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Andrew Rathmell, Brett Steele, Richard Teltschik, and Anga Timilsina, *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Congo to Iraq*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MG-304-RC, 2005.

mission, with troops under UN and U.S. command operating side by side.

All of the operations in this volume were green-helmeted, in whole or in part. Albania was a nationally (Italian) commanded operation. Macedonia began as a NATO operation and was taken over by the European Union. Bosnia followed a similar path, beginning as a UN-led mission, transitioning to NATO command and, later, to EU command. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, a UN-led operation, experienced two insertions of independently commanded EU forces. Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire were also UN-led missions, alongside which nationally commanded British and French troops conducted independent operations. In previous volumes, we looked at the Bosnia and Sierra Leone cases from the NATO and UN perspectives. Here, we examine more closely the roles of Britain and France in those same operations.

All these European cases had UN Security Council (UNSC) mandates at some stage in their evolution. By contrast, the Australian-led multinational intervention in the Solomon Islands, also included in this volume, functioned without major UN, European, or U.S. involvement.

Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Nation-Building

Given Europe's long history of imperial expansion and contraction, it is useful to distinguish nation-building from colonialism and what during the Cold War came to be labeled *postcolonialism*, or, more pejoratively, *neocolonialism*. One important distinction is intended duration. Imperial powers may or may not have been sincere in their paternal intentions. But even when they were, the move toward sovereignty and independence for their colonial charges was envisaged in generational terms. Similarly, the French role in providing military support to its former African colonies has not been of fixed or severely limited duration.

If pre–World War II colonialism was unbounded in time, and Cold War neocolonialism nearly so, post–Cold War nation-building

is dominated by the desire for exit strategies and departure deadlines. Governments that engage in this activity genuinely do not want to stay any longer than they have to, and sometimes they leave before they should. Modern nation-building operations may seem interminable, but most have been terminated in a few years, and very few have lasted longer than a decade. Today's nation-builders are more often criticized for leaving too early than for staying too long, Somalia in the early 1990s, Haiti in the mid-1990s, and East Timor in this decade being examples of prematurely terminated operations.

Neither is modern nation-building usually accompanied by plausible charges of economic exploitation or the quest for geopolitical advantage.[3] The societies receiving such assistance are generally among the poorest on earth. Nation-builders are seldom seen to be profiting from their reconstruction activities. Since 1989, nearly all such missions were mandated by the UNSC and thus enjoyed near-universal approbation. Geopolitics still plays a role in the conduct of such missions, but not normally with the intent to provide an advantage for one external competitor over another.

If nation-building and colonialism are quite distinct, Europe's choice of terrain for such operations is often linked to its imperial past. Among the six cases studied here, all the countries were at one time European dependencies. In three of these six cases, command was assumed by the former colonial power. Nevertheless, the legal bases for the interventions, the objectives set, and the techniques employed owed more to patterns set in the early 1990s by the UN, the United States, and NATO than to earlier colonial practices. French-led operations in Côte d'Ivoire may stand as a partial exception, growing as they did out of France's long-term military presence in West Africa. That case thus offers an interesting study of how two paradigms for intervention—

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[3]   The U.S.-led intervention in Iraq, which did not gain UNSC endorsement and was conducted in an oil-rich country, might be viewed as an exception to this rule. Nevertheless, while many governments regretted U.S. entry into Iraq, few wanted it to leave prematurely, and most supported the UNSC mandate that eventually followed. Further, whatever role Iraq's oil wealth may have played in the U.S. decision to invade, it is never likely to repay or even defray the cost of the intervention.

postcolonial paternalism and post–Cold War nation-building—may combine, clash, and evolve.

The Roots of European Security and Defense Cooperation

European attitudes toward nation-building have been heavily influenced by the UN's failure in the first half of the 1990s to halt the civil war in Bosnia and protect that country's civilian population. European governments invested heavily in the mission, and European militaries provided most of the personnel. Setbacks in Bosnia were accompanied by the UN's retreat from Somalia and its failure to halt genocide in Rwanda. These reverses greatly overshadowed, in public estimation, the successes the UN had enjoyed during this same time frame, such as ending civil wars in Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, and Mozambique.

As a result, European governments withdrew almost entirely from UN peacekeeping operations throughout the rest of the decade, instead lending their weight to U.S.-led operations under NATO command. NATO possessed several advantages over the UN from a European standpoint, the most important of which was the guarantee of heavy U.S. participation. Yet this dependence on the United States was also, from a European standpoint, NATO's principal drawback. NATO offered a potential instrument for postconflict stabilization and reconstruction only if and when the United States was willing to participate and was given the lead.

Europe's failure to stabilize the Balkans using the UN as its military instrument led to two parallel lines of action. One was the use of NATO to achieve the same purpose, first in Bosnia and, four years later, in Kosovo. The other was the development of a purely European capacity for intervention via the European Union, which would provide Europe an alternative to both NATO and the UN. Drawing heavily on NATO as a model, institutional arrangements that would allow the EU to include military force among its instruments for external influence were gradually developed over the succeeding decade. These arrangements were labeled, somewhat misleadingly, the European Security

and Defence Policy (ESDP), which refers not just to a common policy, but also to the collective means of giving effect to such policies.

Albania

Little had been accomplished by 1997, when Albania collapsed into disorder. The United States and NATO, heavily engaged in Bosnia, had no interest in taking on a new mission, while Europe had no confidence in the United Nations. After some time spent casting about for other institutional solutions—including possible use of the then nearly defunct Western European Union—Italy, as the major regional power most closely affected by Albania's disintegration, agreed to lead a UN-mandated, nationally commanded operation to restore order there.

Albania's troubles derived from an incompetent and corrupt government, rather than long-standing tribal, ethnic, religious, or linguistic conflicts. Restoring some semblance of order thus proved comparatively easy. Italy provided the core of a multinational effort, Operation Alba, which included a substantial police element. Italy also put together a mechanism for political consultation among the participating governments. This gave other troop contributors a good deal more input in decisionmaking than the United States was accustomed to providing other members of ad hoc coalitions under its command.

The Albanian crisis also confirmed the reluctance of the United States to become involved in low-intensity conflicts in the Balkans unless important U.S. interests were at stake. Thus, the experience contributed to a stronger recognition on the part of the European governments that they needed to develop a greater capacity—and will—to manage at least low-level crises on their own.

Sierra Leone

Two years later, the UN was again seen to be failing—in this case, to halt civil conflict in Sierra Leone. Cease-fires were continually violated, and lightly equipped UN troops were being killed or taken hostage in

large numbers. The United Kingdom, as the former colonial power, decided to intervene. Rather than commit British units as part of the UN force, London chose to mount a parallel operation. Well-trained, heavily equipped, highly mobile British troops staged a series of short, sharp offensives while other British soldiers trained and advised local government forces.

Sierra Leone marked an important turning point in UN post–Cold War nation-building. After a strong start in the early 1990s in Namibia, Mozambique, Cambodia, and El Salvador, the UN began to take on more daunting missions with less satisfactory results. First in Somalia, then in Rwanda, it failed completely. The UN mission in Bosnia was also widely regarded as a failure, though it did ultimately lead to the Dayton peace settlement. By the late 1990s, the credibility of armed UN-led interventions was very low. Early in its course, the operation in Sierra Leone seemed destined to cement that reputation. The turnaround of that operation, which the United Kingdom helped effect, carried over into subsequent UN missions, which tended to have more robust mandates and force structures and higher levels of success.

While the United Kingdom should be credited with helping to turn around the UN mission in Sierra Leone, the British government must also share responsibility for that country's initial near collapse. As the permanent member of the UNSC most concerned with Sierra Leone by reason of its colonial heritage, the United Kingdom voted to deploy UN peacekeepers into a chaotic and potentially violent situation and then failed to ensure that the resultant force included at its core well-trained, mobile, heavily equipped troops. The decision to deploy a UN force to Sierra Leone was made just as the Kosovo peacekeeping operation was gearing up. The UK and most other Western militaries were making large troop commitments there, as they had in Bosnia. This explains, though it cannot entirely excuse, the unwillingness of these governments to contribute to a difficult and dangerous mission in Sierra Leone that several of them had voted to launch.

Macedonia

When ethnic tension bubbled over into outright fighting in Macedonia in early 2001, European crisis-management institutions were available and, perhaps, ready to take on their first real crisis. NATO was heavily engaged across the border in Kosovo, as well as in Bosnia, and the new administration in Washington wanted to reduce U.S. involvement in the Balkans. The European Union therefore assumed the lead, first for peacemaking and eventually for peacekeeping as well. The military component of this operation was small. The most important aspects of the European intervention were political and economic. Nevertheless, for the first time, a European Union force under a European Union flag had been dispatched abroad. The EU had become expeditionary.

The EU scored more than just a passing grade in the first test of its common foreign and security policy. The test was comparatively easy, however, and the EU received a lot of help. Future exams were likely to be tougher. Next time, NATO might not be just across the border, ready to come to the rescue if needed. The United States might be less engaged or less helpful. Promises of eventual membership in the EU or NATO might not be available as incentives for good behavior.

Côte d'Ivoire

By the time civil war broke out in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002, EU mechanisms for managing military interventions had continued to mature. France nevertheless chose to intervene on a purely national basis, much as the United Kingdom had in Sierra Leone three years earlier. The UK's operation had been in direct support of a UN peacekeeping mission. France's operation was somewhat more national in character; other international forces intervened only in the later years. In January 2003, a West African peacekeeping force was introduced and led by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In April 2004, this force was subsumed into a UN-led operation, but the French mission remained separate, initially focusing on the protection and evacuation of French and other foreign nationals. French, ECOWAS, and

UN troops collaborated, but France continued to pursue an independent policy that sometimes worked at cross-purposes with the objectives of the international peacekeepers.

The UK's intervention in Sierra Leone, like the two EU expeditions in the Congo, had fallen pretty clearly into the post–Cold War nation-building paradigm, being both temporary and altruistic in nature. The fact that French forces were deployed year after year, in significant numbers, under national command, and in pursuit of French national interests made their presence more controversial. The UK had not maintained a military presence in Sierra Leone after independence; France had in Côte d'Ivoire and in other of its former Central and West African colonies. France was frequently accused of partiality by both sides. These accusations hindered the success of the operation and resulted in targeted attacks on its forces and French citizens.

Peace operations in Côte d'Ivoire thus represent a post-1989 nation-building operation superimposed on an older, postcolonial presence. The fact that neither the UN nor French mission was adequately resourced was likely the main reason for the relatively poor results. The controversial nature of the French military presence among the local population and the occasional friction between the two international forces also contributed to the difficulties encountered, suggesting that this marriage of UN-led nation-building and French-led postcolonialism was not a happy one.

Democratic Republic of the Congo

In the late 1990s, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) was in an anarchic, Hobbesian state of war. By 2006, the DRC had held democratic elections and appeared, albeit tentatively, on course for long-term stability. The country has been a major focus for Europe and a proving ground for an evolving European policy. The EU has conducted two military missions in the DRC and has spent more money

on state-building in the DRC than anywhere else outside Europe.[4] Europe's experience in the DRC has, in turn, had a major influence on the evolution of the ESDP, encouraging the development of EU battle groups and the introduction of new mechanisms for common funding of joint operations while highlighting some of the problems inherent in coordinating nation-building within the EU itself.

Nation-building in the DRC has been moderately successful at a very low per capita cost in terms of military personnel allocation and economic assistance. The UN and EU worked together and with other major actors to restore order and establish a functioning state. The two EU-led military operations were both of brief duration, however. The first, which stabilized a particularly violent region of the country, began in June 2003 and lasted only three months. The second, which helped provide security during the 2006 elections, began in July and concluded by the end of that year.

Both these missions offered a far greater military challenge for the EU than did the Macedonian operation that had preceded them, despite their much shorter duration. The Congo was far from Europe. There were no nearby NATO or U.S. forces available to render assistance in extremis, and NATO was not asked to assist in planning the operation. The situation was much more chaotic, the possibility that deadly force would be needed commensurately higher. The ratio of international troops and economic assistance to population was lower. Conducting its first successful military operation of any size (the EU military force in Macedonia had numbered only 300) in such a demanding environment thus represented a definite advance in the EU's institutional development. While the UN deserved most of the credit for what was accomplished in the Congo, the two EU interventions gave that mission an important boost while demonstrating, for the first time, a common European capability to project military force over great distance.

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[4] As a portion of EU military spending under ESDP, not as a measure of bilateral spending.

Bosnia

Bosnia represents the largest EU-led nation-building operation to date. The transfer from NATO to EU command took place at the end of 2004. But the transition from U.S. to EU leadership began at least two years earlier, when the EU High Representative (HR) was designated as the EU Special Representative (EUSR) as well. In 2003, the EU took over management of the international police mission from the United Nations. Thus, when the EU took over the military command from NATO, most of the other components of the nation-building mission were already in its hands.

Bosnia remains peaceful and relatively prosperous under EU oversight. The EU's performance in Bosnia since 2002, when the HR and EUSR positions were merged, has been a bit erratic, however. Paddy Ashdown proved to be the most active and exigent of HRs; his successor, Christian Schwarz-Schilling, the least. With Schwarz-Schilling's departure, the EU seems to have veered back to a more assertive approach, raising the level of tension in Bosnia just as it faces its greatest test to date in Kosovo, suggesting the difficulty that the EU encounters in trying to integrate and modulate its policies across a range of interrelated issues and areas.

The EU and Its Competitors

Many international institutions have the capacity to contribute to nation-building operations, but only a few are able to deploy military forces. These include the United Nations, NATO, and, since 2003, the European Union. To understand what the EU has to offer in this field, we draw on our previous two studies of U.S.- and UN-led operations to examine the main alternatives.[5]

Among these institutions, the UN has the widest experience, NATO has the most powerful forces, and the EU has the most developed array of civil competencies. The UN has the most widely accepted

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[5]   See Dobbins, McGinn, et al. (2003) and Dobbins, Jones, et al. (2005).

legitimacy and the greatest formal authority. Its actions, by definition, enjoy international sanction. Alone among organizations, it can require financial contributions from those opposed to the intervention in question. The UN has the most straightforward decisionmaking apparatus and the most unified command-and-control arrangements. The UNSC is smaller than its NATO or EU equivalents, and it makes all its decisions by qualified majority, only five of its members having the capacity to block decisions unilaterally.

Once the UNSC determines the purpose of a mission and decides to launch it, further operational decisions are left largely to the secretary-general and his staff, at least until the next UNSC review, generally six months hence. In UN operations, the civilian and military chains of command are unified and integrated, with unequivocal civilian primacy and a clear line of authority from the secretary-general to the local civilian representative to the local force commander.

The UN is also a comparatively efficient force provider. In its specialized agencies, it possesses a broad panoply of civil and military capabilities needed for nation-building. All UN-led operations are planned, controlled, and sustained by a few hundred military and civilian staffers at UN headquarters in New York. Most UN troops come from developing countries whose costs per deployed soldier are a small fraction of those of any Western army. In 2007, the UN deployed more than 80,000 soldiers and police officers in some 20 countries, considerably more than did NATO and the EU combined.

NATO, by contrast, is capable of deploying powerful forces in large numbers and using them to force entry where necessary. But NATO has no capacity to implement civilian operations; it depends on the United Nations, the European Union, and other institutions and nations to perform all the nonmilitary functions essential to the success of any nation-building operation. NATO decisions are by consensus; consequently, all members have a veto. Whereas the UNSC normally makes one decision with respect to any particular operation every six months and leaves the secretary-general relatively unconstrained to carry out that mandate during the intervals, the NATO Council's oversight is more continuous, its decisionmaking more incremental. Member governments consequently have a greater voice in operational

matters, and the NATO civilian and military staffs have correspondingly less.

The European Way of Nation-Building

European institutions for foreign, security, and defense policy have evolved significantly over the 10 years covered by the six cases examined here. Throughout the 1990s, Europeans could choose only among the UN-, NATO-, or nationally led coalitions for the management of expeditionary forces. In the current decade, another alternative emerged: EU-led missions. Initially, these were little more than nationally led interventions with an EU flag. This too has changed, however, with the second Congo operation and the Bosnian missions both being truly multinational in management.

Like NATO, and unlike the UN, EU decisionmaking in the security and defense sectors is by consensus. The European Union has a much leaner military and political staff than does NATO, in part because it can call on NATO, if it chooses, for planning and other staff functions. The EU, like the UN but unlike NATO, can draw on a wide array of civilian assets essential to any nation-building operation. Like NATO soldiers, EU soldiers are much more expensive than their UN counterparts. EU decisionmaking mechanisms, like those of NATO, offer troop-contributing governments greater scope for micromanaging military operations on a day-to-day basis than do the UN's.

Operating on its own periphery within societies that regard themselves as European and aspire to membership in the union, the EU clearly has advantages that alternative institutional frameworks for nation-building cannot entirely match. On the other hand, so far, the EU has assumed lead responsibility only in operations in areas already largely pacified by other organizations.

Clearly, the introduction of European troops into the Congo in 2003 and 2006 was helpful, and the EU's handling of those forces was competent. Whether the use of the EU for this purpose was the most effective way to bolster the UN effort is less clear. The success of these two efforts to buttress UN forces in the Congo needs to be

contrasted with the experience in Liberia, where Sweden and Ireland have provided comparably well-equipped, highly mobile troops to the UN peacekeeping force without insisting on separate national or EU command arrangements. The UN-commanded force in Lebanon was also heavily European in composition, without the requirement for an overlay of EU command and control.

Yet to argue that EU management of these interventions may not have been necessary is to miss the point. EU defense collaboration has not been pursued to facilitate European contributions to larger multi-lateral military operations, but to provide a vehicle for European leadership of such activities. NATO may provide the preferred vehicle for European defense and the UN for nation-building in the developing world, but one can imagine circumstances in which one or both of these institutions might not be available. European governments want the option of acting independently and collectively in such circumstances. The EU defense and security machinery is designed to provide its members with such an alternative.

Seen from this perspective, the two European expeditions in the Congo can be viewed principally as test runs for the ESDP, rather than the most efficient means of deploying and employing European forces in support of a UN operation. On these terms, the Congo operations must be adjudged a success, as should the EU-led missions in Macedonia and Bosnia.

That said, these missions have displayed weaknesses that could limit the EU's capacity to operate military forces in more demanding environments. To date, EU-led operations have been rather tentative, and most European governments have proved highly risk averse, a criticism that was often leveled, with some justice, at the United States in the 1990s. The nature of EU decisionmaking is likely to sustain this risk-averse behavior. NATO military commitments are driven by its dominant member, the United States. In the UN, such decisions are made by governments that, for the most part, do not intend to hazard their own soldiers in the resultant operations. As a result, NATO is prepared to accept risks at which the EU would balk, while the UN regularly takes chances that neither the EU nor NATO would countenance. As of this writing, for example, the United Nations is seeking to

organize a force to pacify war-torn Darfur while heavily armed, highly mobile European battalions are preparing to patrol refugee camps in neighboring Chad. Certainly, both jobs need to be done, but some reversal of roles would probably yield better results.

In addition to being risk averse, most European nations have extreme difficulty deploying more than a tiny fraction of their military personnel to operational missions abroad. In some cases, this reflects domestic resistance to the use of armed force for anything other than self-defense. More generally, it results from the need to fund operations from fixed defense budgets, meaning that the active employment of the armed forces cuts funding for their maintenance and modernization, a dilemma that the United States circumvents by securing supplemental funding for major, unforeseen contingencies.

Another EU weakness, oddly enough, is in the integration of the military and civil components of nation-building. In theory, the EU should be uniquely equipped to mobilize the full panoply of civil-military assets needed for successful postconflict reconstruction. NATO has no civil assets, and the UN's economic resources are much more limited than the EU's. Yet so far, the EU has been only moderately successful outside Europe in mobilizing its civilian capacity in support of its military commitments. U.S.-led nation-building missions are almost always more generously resourced than are those directed by the UN, because the United States tends to back any troop commitment with substantial economic assistance. By contrast, European-led missions appear to fare on par with UN-led operations in this regard.

There are several factors that explain this weakness, all of which may be transitory. Nationally led operations, such as the United Kingdom's in Sierra Leone and France's in Côte d'Ivoire, seem not to have inspired other European governments or institutions to greatly raise the profile of those nations in their own development-assistance priorities. This may change as future operations take place under an EU flag. The division between the Council of the European Union, which decides on defense and security matters, and the European Commission, which sets and implements development policy, often leads to a disjointed EU response to the call of nation-building. Reforms currently in the process of ratification should improve EU performance

in this regard. Finally, European governments and institutions tend to draw a sharper line between development and security assistance than does the United States or the UN, creating barriers to the use of European development funds to pay for such activities as police training or militia demobilization. Greater European involvement in the management of nation-building operations may erode these barriers.

Despite these continuing difficulties, European institutions involved in the management of civil-military operations have developed to the stage at which more than brief, tentative experiments can be embarked on with some confidence. The greatest challenges faced by the EU are not in the efficacious employment of armed force, but rather in the formulating and applying the broader political-military strategy that must underlie it. Like NATO, the EU's decisionmaking processes require consensus among all 25 of its member governments. Unlike NATO, there is no single, dominant member whose views tend to drive this process. The EU can consequently be slow to respond to new developments and changed circumstances. The difficulty of reaching a common EU view on the final status of Kosovo is one such example.

Outside Europe, the most efficient way for European governments to contribute to most international peace operations will be to assign national contingents directly to UN peacekeeping missions. Prior to the mid-1990s, European militaries were a mainstay of UN peacekeeping. Today, the UN deploys more troops in active operations abroad than do the EU, NATO, and every European government combined. Almost none of these soldiers are American, and very few are European. Yet the UN's success rate, as measured in enhanced security, economic growth, return of refugees, and installation of representative governments meets or exceeds that of U.S.- and European-led missions in almost every category. Thus, it is time for European governments, militaries, and populations get over the trauma of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) experience in the former Yugoslavia, take on board the subsequent improvement in the UN's performance, and

begin once again to do their share in staffing these efforts, as they are already doing in paying for them.[6]

The Australian Example

The Australian-led mission in the Solomon Islands represents a rather unique example of a multinational nation-building operation in which there was no U.S., European, or United Nations involvement. The Australian government had, however, clearly collected and integrated many of the best practices developed by the international community over the previous decade in designing this intervention. These best practices included putting security first, establishing local and international legitimacy, maintaining unity of command, employing large numbers of international police, super-sizing the initial military contingent, deploying a full range of civil capabilities, and planning for an extended engagement.

Australia also introduced three innovations that might have future application elsewhere:

- planning and budgeting for a 10-year operation
- swearing international police into the local police force and putting international officials directly into the local bureaucracy
- basing its presence exclusively on a local invitation.

Australia made a long-term commitment to the Solomon Islands from the outset of the mission, including substantial financial and human resources over a 10-year time frame. When the mission began in 2003, the Australian government earmarked almost US$455 million for the process of rebuilding the Solomon Islands over 10 years.[7] This

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[6] This advice is, of course, equally valid for the United States, at least once the level of its troop commitment in Iraq is substantially reduced.

[7] Gordon Peake and Kaysie Studdard Brown, "Policebuilding: The International Deployment Group in the Solomon Islands," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Winter 2005, p. 524. Some of these funds may have been allocated to bilateral assistance programs rather than directly to the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), which

was an extraordinary up-front commitment, particularly by a country with a population of only 20 million people.

The most controversial aspect of the Solomon Islands mission has been its policy of putting personnel directly into government positions, particularly very senior positions, such as the police commissioner and the accountant general. Australian officials and some Solomon Islanders argue that this arrangement is essential for the country's government to function at all, but the presence of Australian and other foreign officials in government positions may breed dependence and limit the professional development of public-service personnel. It also increases resentment among Solomon Islanders—and particularly among the unemployed—who believe that locals should fill those jobs instead of outsiders.[8]

Australia based its intervention on an invitation from the Solomon Islands' government and balanced its lead-nation role with effective multinational representation, securing the endorsement of the Pacific Islands Forum even though that organization has no legal mandate to authorize such missions. Nevertheless, the failure to seek a UN mandate for the operation does make its continuation entirely dependent on the vagaries of local politics. It also puts the burden of sustaining that mandate entirely on local Solomon Islands politicians, who cannot point to a UNSC resolution to excuse to their voters their obvious cessation of sovereign powers.

The Australian government claimed that it forwent a UNSC endorsement for its intervention in the interest of time, but a more likely explanation is pique over the failure of the UNSC to authorize the invasion of Iraq, in which Australian forces had participated only a few weeks before the launch of the Solomon Islands operation. It is unlikely that future intervening authorities will choose to forgo a UN mandate when one is available, but the Australian example does make clear that there is an acceptable alternative in cases in which the UNSC

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may explain why the figure is substantially higher than the one contained in the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) report.

8 "Security and Foreign Forces, Solomon Islands," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment*, June 5, 2007.

may be deadlocked and the host government is ready to issue the necessary invitation.

Finally, the Solomon Islands operation, so well planned, abundantly resourced, and skillfully executed, is a reminder of how daunting the prospect of nation-building can be, even in the smallest of societies and in the most favorable of circumstances. It is too soon to judge the success in the mission, since it is not even at the halfway point of its expected lifespan, but the progress that has been made in reestablishing security is counterbalanced with continuing challenges and questions about what the mission will be able to achieve in terms of economic and political reform. The case of the Solomon Islands shows that nation-building is an enormously challenging enterprise even under the seemingly best of circumstances.

Comparative Analysis

In Chapter Nine, we compare the six European- and one Australian-led interventions covered in this volume with the 15 other U.S.- or UN-led operations described in our previous volumes. We employ both quantitative and qualitative measures to compare our inputs, including military personnel levels, economic assistance and duration, and such outcomes as levels of security, economic growth, refugee return, and political reform achieved. Figure S.1 compares input levels for all 22 of these operations, one axis measuring the size of the international military presence as a proportion of the indigenous population, the other the annual amount of external assistance, again on a per capita basis, over the first couple of years of reconstruction. As the figure illustrates, the missions headed by Europe (and the UN) have generally been less heavily staffed and funded than those led by the United States.

Tables S.1 and S.2 illustrate measures of success. The first looks at the level of security achieved, the criterion being whether the society in question has remained at peace through the present. The score for European-led efforts is a respectable four out of six.

Figure S.1
Military Presence and Financial Assistance
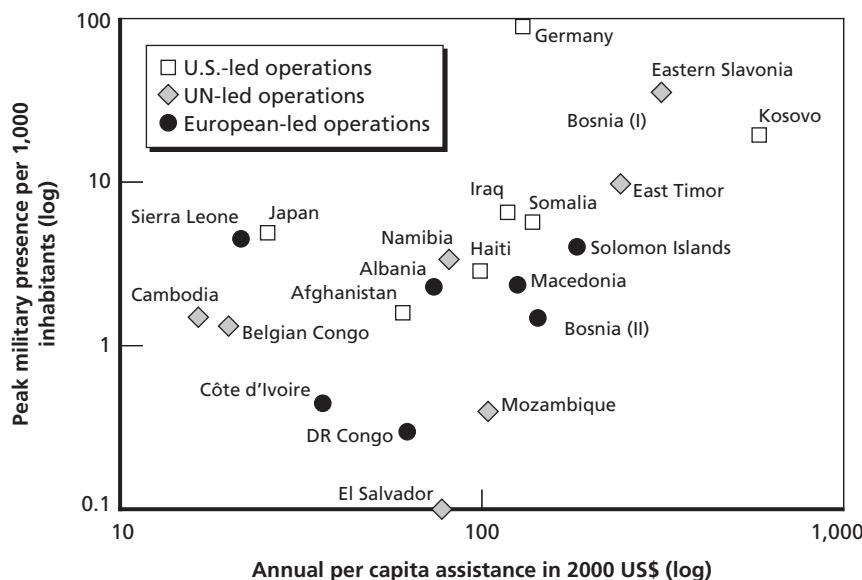
Table S.2 shows levels of freedom in all 22 of the countries studied, as measured on a one (high) to seven (low) scale by Freedom House. Here, the European score is five free or partly free out of six.

It is, of course, not entirely fair to compare U.S., UN, and European success rates. U.S.-led missions have tended to be the most demanding, often involving peace enforcement rather than peacekeeping. There have been notable successes, including those in Germany, Japan, Bosnia, and Kosovo, and complete failures, such as those in Somalia and Haiti in the early and mid-1990s. EU and UN accomplishments are heavily intertwined, with shared credit for comparative success in Sierra Leone and failure in Côte D'Ivoire. What does emerge from these assessments and others in Chapter Nine is that the overall success rate of nation-building is high enough to justify continued investment in these capabilities and that Europe has established a short but respectably positive record in the field.

Table S.1
Sustained Peace

Operation Type	Country	Sustained Peace Through 2007
U.S.-led	Germany	Yes
	Japan	Yes
	Somalia	No
	Haiti	Yes
	Bosnia (I)	Yes
	Kosovo	Yes
	Afghanistan	No
	Iraq	No
UN-led	Belgian Congo	No
	Namibia	Yes
	El Salvador	Yes
	Cambodia	Yes
	Mozambique	Yes
	Eastern Slavonia	Yes
	East Timor	Yes
European-led	Albania	Yes
	Sierra Leone	Yes
	Macedonia	Yes
	Côte d'Ivoire	No
	Democratic Republic of the Congo	No
	Bosnia (II)	Yes
Australian-led	Solomon Islands	Yes

Table S.2
Level of Freedom

Operation Type	Country	Freedom Rating (2007)	Freedom House Score (2007)
U.S.-led	Germany	Free	1
	Japan	Free	1
	Somalia	Not free	7
	Haiti	Partly free	4
	Bosnia (I)	Partly free	3
	Kosovo	Not free	6
	Afghanistan	Partly free	5
	Iraq	Not free	6
UN-led	Belgian Congo	Partly free	5
	Namibia	Free	2
	El Salvador	Free	2
	Cambodia	Not free	6
	Mozambique	Partly free	3
	Eastern Slavonia[a]	Free	2
	East Timor	Partly free	3
European-led	Albania	Partly free	3
	Sierra Leone	Partly free	4
	Macedonia	Free	2
	Côte d'Ivoire	Not free	7
	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Partly free	5
	Bosnia (II)	Partly free	3
Australian-led	Solomon Islands	Partly free	4

SOURCE: Data from Freedom House, *Freedom in the World*, New York, 2007.

[a] Data were not available for Eastern Slavonia, so Croatia was used as a proxy.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

1 Para	1st Battalion, Parachute Regiment, British Army
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
ASPI	Australian Strategic Policy Institute
AU	African Union
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CDF	Civil Defense Forces
CONADER	Commission Nationale de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion
DDR	demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EAR	European Agency for Reconstruction
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EUFOR	European Military Operation

EUPM	EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
EUSEC	EU Security-Sector Reform Mission
EUSR	EU Special Representative
FANCI	Forces Armées Nationales de Côte d'Ivoire
FARDC	Forces Armées de la Républic Démocratique du Congo
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda
GDP	gross domestic product
HDZ	Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica
HR	EU High Representative
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IDP	internally displaced person
IEMF	interim emergency multinational force
IFOR	implementation force
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPTF	International Police Task Force
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program
MICECI	Economic Community of West African States Mission in Côte d'Ivoire
MINUCI	United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire
MJP	Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix

MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MPCI	Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire
MPF	multinational protection force
MPIGO	Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien de Grand Ouest
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NSRD	National Security Research Division
ODA	official development assistance
ODIHR	Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OHR	Office of the High Representative
ONUC	United Nations Operation in the Congo
ONUMOZ	UN Operation in Mozambique
ONUSAL	UN Observer Mission in El Salvador
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PPF	Participating Police Force
RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
RCD	Rally for Congolese Democracy
RS	Republika Srpska

RSIP	Royal Solomon Islands Police
RSLAF	Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SAA	stabilization and association agreement
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SAS	Special Air Service
SBiH	Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu
SFOR	stabilization force
SHAPE	NATO Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SNSD	Savez Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata
TPA	Townsville Peace Agreement
UCP	Union of Congolese Patriots
UN	United Nations
UNAMIC	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNMIH	United Nations Mission in Haiti
UNMISET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste

UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOMSIL	UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNPREDEP	United Nations Preventative Deployment Force
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNTAC	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAES	UN Mission in Eastern Slavonia
UNTAET	UN Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNTAG	UN Transitional Assistance Group
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
VAT	value-added tax
VMRO	Vnatresno-Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija
WEU	Western European Union

Introduction

In two prior volumes, RAND analyzed U.S. and United Nations (UN) performance in the field of nation-building, examining instances in which one or the other led such operations.[1] In this study, we looked at European performance, taking six instances in which European institutions or national governments have exercised such leadership. We have also included a chapter describing Australia's nation-building operation in the Solomon Islands. This operation did not fit into either of our previous volumes, nor is it directly relevant to the main theme of this one, but the Australian example does contain valuable lessons from which the United States, Europe, and the UN can learn, and so it is included here for purposes of contrast and completeness.

This is not a comprehensive study of all nation-building operations that have involved European countries. European troops, police, civilian advisers, and money have supported nearly every nation-building operation in the past 60 years. Rather, it is a study of the European role in six cases in which either the EU or a European government exercised military command: Albania, Sierra Leone, Macedonia, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Bosnia.

There are obvious difficulties in distinguishing among U.S.-, UN-, and European-led nation-building, since most international peace operations involve participation from all three. Nevertheless, it should make a difference whether military command is being exercised

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[1]   See Dobbins, McGinn, et al. (2003) and Dobbins, Jones, et al. (2005).

from Washington, New York, Brussels, Paris, or London. This study was intended to explore those differences.

All eight of the U.S.-led operations studied in the first volume were green-helmeted; that is, they were commanded by the United States or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), at least at some point in their evolution.[2] All eight of the UN-led operations in the second volume were blue-helmeted peacekeeping operations directed by the UN secretary-general and local representatives.[3] In principle, there is a clear distinction between the two sorts of leadership, though several of the operations did move from one category to the other over the course of their conduct. Somalia, for example, started as a UN-led mission, transitioned to U.S. command, and then became a hybrid mission, with troops under UN and U.S. command operating from the same bases in the same zones of operations.

This volume contains examples of several such hybrid missions. Albania was a nationally (Italian) commanded multinational operation. Macedonia began as a NATO operation and was taken over by the European Union. Bosnia followed a similar path, beginning as a UN-led mission, transitioning to NATO command and, later, to EU command. The Congo intervention, a UN-led operation, experienced two insertions of independently commanded EU forces. Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire were also UN-led missions, alongside which independently commanded British and French troops conducted independent operations.

Two of the cases included in this monograph were treated in previous volumes: Bosnia in the study of U.S.-led operations and Sierra Leone in the study of UN-led operations. Here, we examine the role of the European command that succeeded NATO in Bosnia and was exercised alongside the UN's command in Sierra Leone.

All the European missions described here had UN Security Council (UNSC) mandates, irrespective of where command may have

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[2] See Dobbins, McGinn, et al. (2003). The eight cases were Germany, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

[3] See Dobbins, Jones, et al. (2005). The eight cases were Congo, Namibia, El Salvador, Cambodia, Mozambique, Eastern Slavonia, Sierra Leone, and East Timor.

rested, as did most covered in the prior two volumes. By contrast, there has been no UN, U.S., or European involvement in the Australian-led multinational intervention in the Solomon Islands.

In previous volumes, we defined *nation-building* as the use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to promote a durable peace and representative government. By including the use of armed force in our definition, we are not expressing a view that compulsion is always necessary or even desirable, but simply identifying the class of activity that we have chosen to study. Nor do we mean to suggest that only armed force is used, simply that it is one of the instruments employed in all the cases covered.

Neither, in employing the term *nation-building* to describe this activity, are we seeking to distinguish it from what the United Nations calls *peace-building*, the U.S. government calls *stability operations* or *stabilization and reconstruction*, and what many European governments prefer to call *state-building*. We employ the term *nation-building* because it is the term most commonly used in American parlance. Any of these other phrases may serve equally well; those who prefer can substitute one or the other without injury to our argument.

Given Europe's long imperial history, it is useful to distinguish nation-building from both colonialism and what during the Cold War came to be labeled neocolonialism. One obvious distinction is that, in many cases, imperial powers considered their colonies to be part of the national territory, not separate states. Another key distinction is that imperial powers tended to think in generational terms. Indeed, even when the imperial power was sincere in its paternal intentions, independence was rarely considered likely or desirable except in the most distant future.

By contrast, if pre–World War II colonialism was unbounded in time and Cold War neocolonialism nearly so, post–Cold War nation-building is dominated by the desire for exit strategies and departure deadlines. Governments that engage in this activity genuinely do not want to stay any longer than they have to, and they sometimes leave before they should. Modern nation-building operations may seem interminable, but most have ended in a few years and very few have

lasted longer than a decade. Today's nation-builders are more often criticized for leaving too early than for staying too long.

Neither is modern nation-building usually accompanied by charges of economic exploitation or geopolitical competition. The societies receiving such assistance are generally among the poorest on earth. Nation-builders are seldom accused of profiting from their reconstruction. Since 1989, nearly all such missions were mandated by the UNSC and thus enjoyed near-universal approbation. Geopolitics still plays a role in the design of such missions but not normally with the intent to advantage one competitor over another.

The U.S.-led intervention in Iraq, which did not gain UNSC endorsement and was conducted in an oil-rich country, might be viewed as an exception to this rule. Nevertheless, while many governments regretted the United States' entry into Iraq, few want it to leave prematurely, and most support the UNSC mandate that eventually came. Further, whatever role Iraq's oil wealth may have played in the U.S. decision to intervene, it can never repay or even defray the cost of this expedition.

Europe's growing assumption of responsibility for nation-building operations certainly has roots in its earlier engagement in these regions. Among the six cases discussed here, all the countries were at one time European dependencies. In three of these cases, command was assumed by the former colonial power. Nevertheless, the legal bases for the interventions, the objectives set, and the techniques employed owed more to patterns set by the UN, the United States, and NATO than to Europe's earlier colonial and postcolonial experiences. French-led operations in Côte d'Ivoire may stand as a partial exception, growing as they have did out of France's long-term presence there. That case thus offers a particularly interesting study of how two paradigms for intervention, post–Cold War nation-building and postcolonial paternalism, may combine, clash, and evolve.

In the conclusion of this monograph, we tabulate, contrast, and compare data from all 22 of the cases studied in this and previous volumes. This allows us to put into perspective the European experience in terms of effort expended, as measured in personnel, money, and

time, and results effected, in terms of security, economic growth, and political development.

Albania

In early 1997, economic and social conditions in Albania rapidly deteriorated, plunging the country into chaos. The immediate catalyst was the collapse of a series of pyramid schemes.[1] Numerous Albanians, lured by promises of high returns on their money, invested their life savings in these ventures. Despite warnings by the Bank of Albania (the country's central bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) regarding the dangers posed by the pyramid schemes, Sali Berisha's government—whose power base was in the north—did little to curb the ventures and was suspected of profiting from them. When the pyramid schemes collapsed in January 1997, hundreds of thousands of Albanians lost their lives' savings overnight.

The social and economic crisis had been gathering momentum for some time when the pyramid schemes collapsed, provoking widespread protests that turned increasingly violent. The unrest was particularly strong in the south, which was the stronghold of the opposition Socialist Party. As the looting and rioting spread, the state virtually disintegrated. Thousand of Albanians fled, creating a major refugee problem, particularly in Italy, which was forced to declare a state of emergency. Moreover, the unrest threatened to spread to Kosovo and Macedonia, with their large Albanian communities, possibly igniting a broader Balkan conflict. On March 28, 1997, the UNSC, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, passed a resolution authorizing the creation

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[1] For a detailed discussion, see Elez Biberaj, *Albania in Transition: The Rocky Road to Democracy*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998. See also Ettore Greco, *Delegated Peacekeeping: The Case of Operation Alba*, Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali, 1998a.

of a multinational protection force (MPF) under Italian command.[2] The mission was tasked with restoring order and providing protection for the provision of humanitarian assistance. It was initially authorized for three months and was later extended for an additional month and a half (45 days).

Operation Alba[3] (March–August 1997) was an early experiment in European nation-building. The operation was conducted under a UNSC resolution by a coalition of the willing headed by Italy. While the intervention helped to stabilize the political situation in Albania and paved the way for Albania's gradual economic recovery and political consolidation, it highlighted a major deficiency in Europe's ability to conduct peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operations. If Italy had not been willing to take the lead in organizing a coalition, the crisis might have spiraled out of control and probably would have spread to Kosovo and Macedonia. Figure 2.1 shows Albania and its immediate region.

Challenges

The Italian-led MPF, Operation Alba, faced several important challenges.

Security

The first and most critical challenge was to restore public order and ensure security. By the time the MPF was formed at the end of March 1997, the Albanian government had lost control over large parts of southern Albania, and the country was in a state of anarchy. Criminal gangs and insurgents were engaged in large-scale looting and had

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[2] UNSC Resolution 1101, on the situation in Albania, March 28, 1997. For a comprehensive discussion of Operation Alba, see Andrea De Guttry and Fabrizio Pagani, eds. *La Crisi Albanese del 1997: L'Azione dell'Italia e delle Organizzazioni Internazionali: Verso un Nuovo Modello di Qestione delle Crisi? [The Albanian Crisis of 1997: The Efforts of Italy and International Organizations: Toward a New Model of Crisis Management?]*, Rome: Edizioni Franco Angeli, 1999.

[3] *Alba* means *dawn* in Italian.

Figure 2.1
Map of Albania

SOURCE: United Nations Cartographic Section, No. 3769, rev. 6, June 2004c.
Used with permission.
RAND *MG722-2.1*

begun seizing weapons from army depots. Initially, it was difficult to
determine whether the looters and insurgents were linked to politi-
cal parties or acting independently. This presented an important chal-
lenge, because the troop contributors did not want to be seen as taking

sides in an internal Albanian political conflict. Gradually, however, it became clear that the insurgents were united only in their hostility to the governing authorities.[4]

Humanitarian

The intervention force faced a major humanitarian challenge. The breakdown of political order made the delivery of humanitarian assistance nearly impossible. To get supplies and assistance to the Albanian population, public order had to be restored and convoys carrying assistance needed to be protected. However, the MPF's mandate prohibited it from disarming the insurgents—a limitation that was severely criticized by many Albanians and outside observers.

Civil Administration

By early March, national and local authority had collapsed. The violent outbursts in many parts of the country, especially in the south, led to the establishment of revolutionary committees in local communities. Many criminal groups took advantage of the chaotic situation. However, the intervention force did not directly undertake tasks related to local administration. Its primary mission was to restore order and ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

Democratization

Although Operation Alba's main function was to restore public order and protect the delivery of humanitarian assistance, there was a close link between the intervention and the broader process of democratization in Albania. The elections in May 1996 that returned the Democratic Party to power had been marked by large-scale irregularities, including ballot-rigging, intimidation, and violence. As a result, Prime Minister Sali Berisha's administration was viewed as illegitimate by many Albanians, especially by those in the south. The MPF thus needed not only to restore order but also to create conditions for holding new elections, which could foster a process of national reconciliation and consensus-building.

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[4]   Greco (1998a, p. 3).

Economic Reconstruction

As a result of the collapse of the pyramid schemes and the Berisha government's failure to address Albania's growing economic problems, the Albanian economy was on the verge of collapse by February–March 1997. The most immediate challenge was to restore public order and ensure the delivery of economic and humanitarian assistance. This was intended to create conditions for holding national elections that could pave the way to stabilizing Albania politically and economically.

The European and International Roles

The choice of a coalition of the willing led by Italy emerged largely because the key security institutions in Europe—the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE), the European Union, and NATO—were unwilling to take responsibility for sending a peacekeeping mission, while Western governments had little confidence in the United Nations due to its disappointing performance in Bosnia in the early 1990s.[5] The OSCE discussed the issue in February 1997, but the first concrete actions were not taken until March 5. OSCE chair Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen appointed former Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky as his personal representative and sent him to Albania for consultations with all political forces and interested parties. During this period, Greece and Italy, the two countries most directly affected by the crisis, began informal and formal consultations. Both countries, together with France, sought to galvanize the EU to take military action to restore order, using the mechanism of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy.[6] Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo (president of the European Council of Ministers) initiated intense diplomatic effort in support of Vranitzky.

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[5]   For a detailed discussion of the international response, see Stefano Silvestri, "The Albanian Test Case," *International Spectator*, Vol. 32, Nos. 3–4, July–December 1997; Ettore Greco, "New Trends in Peacekeeping: The Experience of Operation Alba," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 29, No. 2, June 1998b; and Greco (1998a).

[6]   See European Commission, Directorate General for External Relations, "Common Foreign and Security Policy," Web page, updated February 2002.

However, the EU and the OSCE were hesitant to authorize any military intervention. The possibility of military intervention was discussed at a meeting of the Council of the Western European Union on March 14 and during an informal meeting of EU foreign ministers in Apeldoorn, the Netherlands, on March 15. But over the following week, support for a military intervention eroded. In the end, the EU decided to send only a fact-finding and technical-assistance mission and to support efforts of the OSCE and national parties. The EU was reluctant to take military action for several reasons.

First, the nature of the crisis was initially murky. It was difficult to tell whether the unrest was fomented primarily by the Socialist Party or represented a broader insurrection. It only gradually became clear that the rebel groups in southern Albania were operating independently and were not linked to political parties and that military action would not support one particular side.

Second, different European countries viewed the conflict—and the geopolitical stakes—quite differently. Greece and Italy, the countries most directly affected by the crisis, were concerned about the impact of a large influx of Albanian refugees on their own internal stability, as well as the spillover effect that the crisis might have on stability in the rest of the Balkans. Together with France, they pushed for an urgent and immediate response, including military intervention, to restore political order and stem the tide of refugees streaming toward their borders. However, many countries in northern and central Europe did not view the crisis with the same degree of urgency. They tended to see the crisis largely as an internal Albanian affair.

Third, there was no consensus on how best to foster the process of national reconciliation in Albania. The United States, Germany, and some other Western countries regarded Berisha's resignation as essential for national reconciliation. Italy, on the other hand, favored a more gradual approach, fearing that Berisha's resignation could antagonize the Democratic Party, whose support was essential for national reconciliation.[7]

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7   Greco (1998b, pp. 204–205).

Internal differences within the EU and the Western European Union (WEU) also inhibited the development of a timely, coherent European response. The idea of a WEU military intervention ran into strong opposition, especially from the UK and Germany. The UK feared that strengthening the WEU could undermine NATO and the transatlantic link. Germany's opposition was motivated primarily by domestic considerations. The dispatch of German troops abroad was a sensitive domestic issue in Germany at the time. Having faced a tough internal battle to get support for sending German troops to Bosnia, the German government did not want to overload the circuits. Germany also feared that an intervention might strengthen the Berisha government and inhibit the process of national reconciliation. Some EU members were also haunted by memories of the difficult Western intervention in Somalia and feared a repetition of that experience. In addition, the intervention in Bosnia had left a sour taste in the mouths of some Europeans. Finally, some members suspected that Italy and Greece (particularly the latter) were trying to use a military intervention as a vehicle to stake out a sphere of influence in Albania.[8]

No other military option, other than a WEU-led operation, appears to have been seriously discussed.[9] An OSCE-directed operation was excluded because the OSCE peacekeeping mandate, set out in the 1992 Helsinki II document, did not envisage intervention involving enforcement action nor the establishment of an ad hoc OSCE chain of command.

The possibility of a NATO-led operation was raised by Italy, but it found even less support than a WEU-led operation. Most NATO members regarded the crisis as an internal Albanian matter. Moreover, they were hesitant to get involved in a new peacekeeping effort while NATO was heavily engaged in Bosnia. This was particularly true of the United States. Washington, already heavily involved in Bosnia, was unwilling to send troops to Albania and encouraged the WEU to take responsibility for managing the crisis. And after the UN's lackluster

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[8]   Greece had a special interest in Albania because of the Greek minority in southern Albania, which Greece claimed was being discriminated against by the Albanian government.

[9]   Greco (1998b, p. 206).

performance in Bosnia, there was little support for a UN-led military intervention. Thus an Italian-led coalition emerged as the preferred operation, largely by default.

Military and Police

The failure of the EU countries to agree on a WEU action left a coalition of the willing as the only viable option. Italy seized the initiative, requesting the creation of an MPF in a statement to the OSCE chair on March 26, 1997, and in a letter to the UNSC on March 27. The UN authorized the creation of an MPF commanded by Italy on March 28.[10] To prevent a possible spillover of the crisis, the UN also approved postponing the withdrawal of part of the UN Preventative Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) from Macedonia.

Ten countries—Austria, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, and Turkey—provided troops to Operation Alba. The main contributions came from countries in the Mediterranean region: Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Romania, Slovenia, and Turkey. However, those contributions were quite modest.[11] The chief of the Italian Defense Staff, Admiral Guido Venturoni, headed the mission. He operated from an Italian headquarters in Rome with liaison officials from other contributing countries. An Italian general commanded the force and was assisted by a multinational headquarters in Tirana, which also included Albanian military officials. The force had three vice-commanders—one from each of the other main contributing countries: France, Greece, and Turkey.

Greece played an important role in the initial stages of the crisis. Together with Italy, Greece pushed hard to use the mechanisms of the Common Foreign and Security Policy to develop an intervention force to restore order in Albania. Greece was also one of the largest troop contributors to Operation Alba. Greece feared the impact of a large influx of refugees on its own internal instability. It also was con-

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[10] The vote was 14 in favor; only China opposed.

[11] The total troop size reached a maximum of 7,215 personnel during the June parliamentary elections. Italy contributed nearly half of the troops. The next three largest troop contributors were France, Greece, and Turkey.

cerned about the fate of the Greek minority in southern Albania and the spillover effect that the unrest in Albania might have on the rest of the Balkans.[12] France actively pushed for the EU to intervene through the WEU. It was the second-largest troop contributor to the MPF. France's activism was in keeping with its tradition of attempting to strengthen the EU's role in and capacity for crisis management. However, France was less active diplomatically than either Italy or Greece, in part because it was less directly threatened by instability in Albania than were those two countries.

As a nonmember of the EU, Turkey did not participate in the EU deliberations about Albania. However, Ankara had strong historical ties to Albania and took a keen interest in developments there. It was one of the main force providers to Operation Alba. Turkey's military presence served as a counterbalance to that of Greece and Italy and may have helped to offset concerns that Italy and Greece (especially the latter) were intent on carving out spheres of influence in Albania. The decision by Romania and Slovenia to participate in Operation Alba was motivated, at least in part, by their desire to improve their chances for EU and NATO membership. Participation in Alba provided an opportunity for both countries to demonstrate that they were providers of security, not just consumers. This was particularly important for Romania, whose political and economic transition lagged behind that of Slovenia.

Civil and Economic

Political and strategic direction of the MPF, as well as the coordination of political-military initiatives, was provided by an ad hoc steering committee composed of high representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs and defense of the participating countries, the chief of the military mission, and representatives of the Albanian government and international organizations involved in the mission. The committee

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[12] For a discussion of Greece's concerns and broader Balkan policy, see F. Stephen Larrabee, "Greek Security Concerns in the Balkans," in Van Coufoudakis, Harry J. Psomiades, and Andre Gerolymatos, eds., *Greece and the New Balkans: Challenges and Opportunities*, New York: Pella Publishing Company, 1999.

was chaired by the political director of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assisted by a secretariat in Rome.[13]

The steering committee played a key role in the management of the intervention. In addition to directing the operation, it

- oversaw compliance and sent periodic reports to the UNSC
- provided a forum for interaction among representatives of the troop-contributing countries and organizations involved in providing humanitarian assistance
- provided a means of involving representatives of the Albanian government in all major decisions concerning the development of the mission.

The steering committee was established to ensure cohesion and solidarity among the contributing countries and to resolve outstanding internal disputes. These disputes had inhibited the development of a coherent strategy in the Somalia intervention (UN Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM), and the Italian government was keen to ensure that the mistakes in Somalia were not repeated in Albania. The committee also provided an important mechanism for involving representatives of the Albanian government in decisions. This was particularly important because one of the indirect, unstated objectives of the mission was to contribute to the formation of a new Albanian domestic consensus by encouraging a change in the political leadership. This could not be achieved without a clear understanding on the part of the participating states of the importance—and limits—of the strategy.[14]

What Happened

Security

The scope of Operation Alba's mandate was limited compared to other international humanitarian interventions. The UNSC mandated the MPF to facilitate the safe and prompt delivery of humanitarian assis-

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[13] See Greco (1998b, p. 208) and Silvestri (1997, p. 94).

[14] See Silvestri (1997, pp. 94–95).

tance and to help create a secure environment for the missions of international organizations in Albania, including those providing humanitarian assistance. This limited mandate excluded from the outset any effort by the coalition to disarm the criminal gangs and insurgent factions. The Albanian government requested that the MPF mandate be widened to include such tasks as surveillance of ammunition dumps and control of the country's frontiers. However, the troop-contributing countries consistently rejected requests that the force's mandate be widened.[15] They decided that the repression of armed groups should be left to the government that would be formed after new elections were held in June.

While the MPF's mandate was carefully restricted, the UNSC, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, authorized the troop-contributing countries to carry out enforcement actions to ensure security and freedom of movement for the personnel of the forces.[16] The MPF's rules of engagement were based on those utilized for the implementation force (IFOR) and stabilization force (SFOR) in Bosnia. This provided a tight linkage between the mandate and the MPF's capacity for action. The deployment of the MPF occurred fairly smoothly. In general, the Italian troops were greeted warmly by the population. This was due largely to the fact that the previous Italian intervention, Operation Pelican (September 1991–December 1993), had helped the country emerge from the crisis that ensued after the collapse of communism in Albania. This helped to establish an atmosphere of trust, which was there from the beginning. The lack of public hostility toward the interim forces was underscored by the fact that there were no major clashes between the MPF and armed Albanian groups.

During its stay in Albania, the MPF conducted patrols, escorted humanitarian convoys around the country, transported aid items, and provided security (as well as occasional medical assistance, transportation, and communication capabilities) to the OSCE personnel who came to observe the elections. In general, the MPF kept a low profile. It did not try to disarm the criminal gangs or engage in police work.

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[15] Greco (1998b, p. 207).

[16] See United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945.

The force sought to demonstrate a credible capacity for deterrence, but otherwise let things work themselves out, rather than trying to do too much through swift intervention.[17] Nonetheless, its presence contributed to a gradual stabilization of the situation and restoration of order. After the elections on June 29 and July 6, the number of incidents decreased, and the new government, headed by Fatos Nano, was gradually able to reassert control over the country.

The mechanisms for civil-military coordination generally paralleled those for IFOR and SFOR in Bosnia. However, there were some innovative elements. The role of the steering committee was particularly important. The committee defined the procedures through which international and nongovernmental organizations involved in distributing assistance notified the relevant agencies of their presence and asked for protection from the MPF.[18] Representatives of the various international organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, World Food Programme, EU, OSCE, UN, and others, participated as observers in meetings of the steering committee. To ensure civil-military coordination, a joint cell was established in Tirana.

The OSCE had overall responsibility for coordinating the activities of the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and governmental agencies involved in the nonmilitary aspects of the intervention. However, OSCE coordination was quite loose. In practice, much of the coordination work was done by the steering committee and other mechanisms set up at MPF local headquarters.[19] Several other European and international organizations were also active during Operation Alba. The WEU provided assistance in the training, reorganization, and reinforcement of the Albanian police force—a task similar to the one that it had performed in Bosnia. NATO sent a mission to Albania to assess the prospects for restructuring the Albanian armed forces within the framework of its Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. This mission paved the way for an individual partnership program between NATO

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[17] See Georgios Kostakos and Dimitris Bourantonis, "Innovations in Peace-Keeping: The Case of Albania," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 1998.

[18] Greco (1998a).

[19] Greco (1998a).

and Albania in September 1997. The EU provided assistance in dealing with various humanitarian, political, and economic problems.[20]

Humanitarian

The MPF was tasked with ensuring the safe delivery of international assistance and helping to provide a safe environment for the organizations providing this assistance. This task was accomplished relatively smoothly because the Albanian population and the various political factions welcomed international assistance and cooperated with the MPF, thus avoiding the types of problems that the IFOR and SFOR missions faced in Bosnia. The fact that the mandate was relatively limited was an important factor in facilitating Albanian cooperation. The coalition forces also provided medical assistance. Field hospitals were set up in Janina and Tirana (operated by Belgian and Slovenian medics) and treated many wounded and injured Albanian civilians.[21] Wounded civilians were also evacuated to hospitals in Italy and Turkey.

Civil Administration

The MPF did not engage in civil administration. Its mission was to restore order, ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and help create a safe environment for carrying out national elections, held on June 29 and July 6. Civil administration remained in the hands of the Albanian government and local Albanian authorities.

Democratization

While Operation Alba's primary task was to restore public order, the intervention played an important role in the broader process of democratization in Albania. The MPF provided security for 238 observer teams of the OSCE, preventing possible interference with OSCE activities. It also intervened to halt instances of violence against Albanian

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[20] On the EU's role, see Ettore Greco, "El Ruolo della Unione Europea nella Crisi Albanese" ["The Role of the European Union in the Albanian Crisis"], in De Guttry and Pagani (1999).

[21] Fatmir Mema, "Did Albania Really Need Operation 'Alba'?" *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 1998, p. 60.

citizens and candidates during the electoral campaign.[22] However, the MPF's main contribution was psychological. As one Albanian observer noted,

> The main achievement of "Alba" was the creation of a favorable psychological climate for re-building the state in Albania and restoring order in different districts. The presence of multinational forces created confidence among Albanians not only in improved security, but also in a new start for building a normal life; it also strengthened the belief that Europe cared about Albania.[23]

The electoral campaign leading up to the parliamentary elections on June 29 was carried out in rather chaotic conditions and was characterized by considerable violence, including a failed assassination attempt against Berisha. The atmosphere was so tense that some officials argued that the elections should be postponed.[24] However, most governments felt that postponing the elections would only exacerbate the already tense situation and make it even more difficult to stabilize the country.

The elections were organized by the Albanian authorities with the help of the OSCE's ODIHR. A team of experts from the Council of Europe assisted the Albanian authorities in drafting a new electoral law and accompanying legislation concerning the media during the election campaign. Thanks in large part to the presence of the MPF, the voting took place without significant violence. While some irregularities did occur, the OSCE termed the elections "acceptable given the circumstances."[25] The Council of Europe's verdict was similar.[26]

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[22] Greco (1998a).

[23] Greco (1998a).

[24] The OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) coordinator in Albania, Brian Pridham, resigned during the electoral campaign, accusing the countries and international organizations involved of pushing to hold the elections prematurely in an effort to hasten the withdrawal of the MPF. See Greco (1998a).

[25] Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, *Final Report: Parliamentary Elections in Albania, 29 June and 6 July 1997*, Warsaw, August 6, 1997, p. 1.

[26] This verdict, however, was not universally shared. Biberaj (1998, p. 338), for instance, argued that the elections were "deeply flawed" and that, "by validating such deeply flawed

The elections set the stage for the gradual stabilization and democratization of the country. The socialists were victorious, capturing 79 out of 115 seats in parliament and 52.7 percent of the vote. In the aftermath of the elections, Berisha resigned, a new president was elected by parliament, and a new government was formed with Nano as the new prime minister. After the elections, the political situation gradually began to stabilize, and the coalition forces left by their mandated expiration date, August 12, 1997.[27]

In sum, the intervention had a limited but nonetheless positive impact on the democratization process in Albania. Over the past decade, the political situation has gradually improved. While this transition has been slow and marred by continued internal polarization, without the intervention, the country's economic recovery and political stabilization would almost certainly have been slower than it has been.[28]

Economic Reconstruction

The MPF's mandate was to help restore order and ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance. It did not directly engage in economic reconstruction. However, its presence contributed to the gradual improvement of economic conditions. Following the June 1997 elections, the Nano government implemented a number of other policies that Nano had previously criticized, including the privatization of strategic sectors of the economy, such as oil, energy, mineral industries, water resources, and tourism.[29] The new government adopted many of the promarket economic policies espoused by the Democratic Party, including the

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elections, the international community compromised its own standards of free and fair elections and sent the wrong message, thereby legitimizing the Socialist-inspired insurrection."

[27] However, several Italian and Greek military advisers stayed on and worked with the Albanian armed forces on the basis of bilateral agreements with the new Albanian government.

[28] For a comprehensive assessment of the democratic consolidation process since the intervention, see Adelheid Feilcke-Tiemann, "Albania: Gradual Consolidation Limited by Internal Political Struggles," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 2006.

[29] On Nano's economic policies, see Biberaj (1998, pp. 342–343).

accelerated privatization of large- and medium-sized enterprises and permitting the establishment of private banks.

The elections paved the way for much-needed international financial assistance. In collaboration with the IMF and World Bank, the Nano government launched a short-term macroeconomic stabilization program. In the wake of the elections, the IMF announced a $12 million package of postconflict emergency assistance—a type of assistance previously provided to Bosnia and Rwanda.

An international donors conference was also held in Brussels in October 1997. The conference pledged $100 million to cover Albania's balance-of-payments gap for the next six months (October 1997–March 1998). Another $500 million was pledged over the next three years for investments and technical assistance.[30] These pledges gave the Nano government a much-needed boost and contributed to a gradual improvement in Albania's economic prospects. While Albania still faces many economic problems—especially a significant differential between urban and rural standards of living—the economy has improved markedly since 1997. Inflation, which was more than 33 percent in 1997, has dropped to the low single digits, and gross domestic product (GDP), which fell 7 percent in 1997, has had an average growth of 5.9 percent since then. Per capita incomes have risen steadily.[31]

Lessons Learned

On the whole, Operation Alba was quite successful. The intervention reduced the level of violence and paved the way for the June elections and the economic and political stabilization of the country. Without the intervention, this process would have been slower and the conflict

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[30] European Commission and World Bank, *Albanian Donors Conference, Chairman's Conclusions*, Brussels, October 22, 1997, p. 3.

[31] Inflation figures based on IMF, International Financial Statistics database. For GDP figures, see IMF, *Albania: Request for a Three-Year Arrangement Under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility and Use of Fund Resources—Request for an Extended Arrangement—Staff Report; Press Release on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Albania*, Country Report No. 6/54, February 14, 2006a, p. 29.

might have spread to Kosovo and Macedonia. The intervention high-lighted several important lessons:

- Early action to address acute political, economic, and social prob-lems can prevent crises from escalating.
- A well-defined and limited mandate can sometimes be sufficient to establish peace and ensure democratization.
- Institutional arrangements that allow other participating coun-tries and organizations to share in decisionmaking and estab-lish an effective partnership with other key international partici-pants greatly contribute to effective coordination among coalition partners.

The Albanian crisis did not come out of the blue. It had been gath-ering momentum for some time before the pyramid schemes collapsed. Yet, with the exception of Italy and Greece, few European countries paid much attention to developments in Albania or were willing to take political action until Albania had plunged into anarchy. Stronger inter-national pressure on the Albanian government early on to address some of its acute political and economic problems might have prevented the crisis from escalating and obviated the need for military intervention.

Operation Alba was successful in large part because its mandate was well defined and limited. The operation was confined to providing security and protecting the delivery of humanitarian assistance. It did not try to disarm the rebels. The mandate set a clear deadline for the end of the mission, which was met, thus avoiding the impression that the intervention force was intended to be an occupation force—a per-ception that could have seriously complicated the ability of the inter-vention force to carry out its mission. Alba also succeeded because the participating countries established a record of impartiality and did not try to take sides in internal Albanian political disputes. The force con-fined itself to restoring order and laying the groundwork for new elec-tions, which would pave the way for a broader political reconciliation among the feuding Albanian political forces. This display of impartial-ity and even-handedness helped win the trust of the Albanian popula-

tion and was, in part, responsible for the generally warm reception that the MPF received.

The steering committee provided an effective mechanism for involving all the stakeholders in key decisions related to the military operation and resolving political differences. The European Union would later adopt a similar device in establishing a committee of contributors to EU-run operations.

The participation of Albanian officials in this committee was particularly important and helped to overcome mistrust about the motivations and goals of the intervention. The operation succeeded because Italy was ready to take responsibility for the organization and command of the operation early on. Had it not been willing to do so, the operation might never have taken place, and the unrest might have spread to other areas of the Balkans. At the same time, the intervention highlighted the nonexistence of European crisis-management institutions and the consequent lack of unity within the EU on how to deal with unrest in the Balkans.

Perhaps because of its very rapid success and relatively limited participation, Operation Alba attracted little attention at the time. Like the Bosnian civil war in the early 1990s, the 1997 Albanian crisis did underscore both the reluctance of the United States to become involved in low-intensity conflicts in the Balkans unless vital U.S. interests were clearly at stake and the absence of European mechanisms to fill the gap when the United States opted out. Thus, the Italian-led operation contributed to a stronger recognition on the part of the EU that it needed to develop a greater capacity—and will—to manage low-level crises on its own.

Sierra Leone

On May 6, 2000, the United Kingdom deployed troops to Sierra Leone to evacuate British nationals and secure Freetown airport, the only entry point for humanitarian assistance arriving to that country by air. The United Kingdom had helped to promote the Lomé Agreement in July 1999, which temporarily ended the fighting between the government and rebel groups led by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). In support of that peace agreement, the UN had deployed its largest peacekeeping force in decades, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). Despite this presence, the Lomé Agreement began to crumble in early 2000. Just before the British intervention, the RUF took 500 UN soldiers hostage and seemed poised to invade Freetown.

Conflict in Sierra Leone dated back to March 1991, when RUF forces, supported by Liberian president Charles Taylor, invaded Sierra Leone. The RUF was recruited from the *lumpen*, disenfranchised youth from rural Sierra Leone. Its primary goal quickly became control of Sierra Leone's diamond trade. President Joseph Momoh had little success fighting the rebels, largely because his army was of such poor quality. Over the next several years, a series of Sierra Leone governments failed to defeat the RUF. In March 1996, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah was elected president. He negotiated and signed the Abidjan Agreement with the RUF in November 1996. This agreement to end the war required the private security firm Executive Outcomes to leave. But the rebels reneged on their part of the bargain and invaded Freetown in May 1997, forcing Kabbah to flee. A new group, the Armed

Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), led by Johnny Paul Koroma, created a new government with support from the RUF. Forces from the Nigerian-dominated Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) intervened to reinstate Kabbah in February 1998. The RUF attacked Freetown again in January 1999 in an extraordinarily brutal campaign called "Operation No Living Thing." Thousands of civilians were hacked to death. ECOWAS forces again evicted the RUF from Freetown, after which Kabbah and the RUF leadership signed the Lomé Agreement, one provision of which led to the establishment of UNAMSIL and the arrival of a UN peacekeeping force.[1]

UNAMSIL assumed leadership in the effort to secure and reconstruct Sierra Leone. Its initial failures and ultimate success are described in detail in a previous volume of this series, *The UN's Role in Nation-Building*.[2] This chapter focuses on the pivotal role played by nationally commanded UK forces in helping to turn that faltering mission around. Figure 3.1 shows Sierra Leone and surrounding areas.

Challenges

The United Kingdom, as the former colonial power, had it played a major role in diplomacy, attempting to end the conflict throughout the 1990s. Until 2000, however, it had not sent its own forces to Sierra Leone. Throughout the early years of the conflict, it had provided non-lethal military aid and other forms of assistance to the government. When Sierra Leone's prewar leader, Joseph Momoh, was ousted by Captain Valentine Strasser in 1992, and when Strasser was, in turn, ousted by Captain Julius Maada Bio, the British government's main objective had not been to reinstate one of these leaders but to encourage

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[1]   See, for example, William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States*, Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998, Chapter 4; William Reno, Political Networks in a Failing State: The Roots and Future of Violent Conflict in Sierra Leone," *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft* (*International Politics and Society*), February 2003, pp. 58–63; Ibrahim Abdullah, "Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front/ Sierra Leone," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, June 1998, pp. 222–235.

[2]   Dobbins, Jones, et al. (2005, Chapter 8).

Figure 3.1
Map of Sierra Leone

elections. The elections brought Kabbah to power but did little to end the conflict.[3]

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[3] Michael Kargbo, *British Foreign Policy and the Conflict in Sierra Leone, 1991–2001*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2006, Chapters 5 and 6.

In 1999, Britain became one of the key actors responsible for pushing the Lomé Agreement. After the RUF invaded Freetown in early 1999, Nigeria's commitment to Kabbah's government weakened. At this juncture, the British government became convinced that its best course of action was to find a negotiated settlement to the conflict. With his external support vanishing, Kabbah felt compelled to sign the Lomé Agreement, which legitimized the RUF and made its leader, Foday Sankoh, the chairman of the Sierra Leone diamond commission. Britain strongly supported the UN resolution that created UNAMSIL but only contributed a few officers. While the British government would have preferred a military defeat of the RUF, it was not willing to intervene unilaterally to fight the RUF with British forces, preoccupied as it was in commanding and helping to organize and staff the NATO occupation of Kosovo.[4] However, the large UN presence gave the British hope that UN forces would quell the RUF. This hope dimmed as the RUF threatened Freetown and took UN forces hostage.

Security

In May 2000, Sierra Leone was highly unstable. When the Lomé Agreement was signed, the RUF fielded as many as 30,000 soldiers and controlled a significant part of the country. Little had changed 10 months later. Although the demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration (DDR) program had begun, the RUF retained control of the diamond mines. Revenues from the mines were critical for its operations, as they were for the government. The RUF was not going to give up control to the government despite the terms of the agreement.

While the UN had deployed a sizable force, it lacked the capability to take on the RUF. Despite pleas from the UN, no Western government, including the UK, had agreed to contribute contingents. Jordan withdrew its 1,800 troops in protest. The senior Indian and Nigerian figures who shared leadership of the UN mission fell out over its direction. In addition, the 12,000 Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) troops, while generally supportive of the UN efforts, remained under separate command. The

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[4]   Kargbo (2006, pp. 285–296).

authorized size of the UN force grew from 6,000 in October 1999 to 11,000 in February 2000, and to 17,500 in March 2001. Many of the troops were of poor quality and unprepared for the mission. Squabbles within the leadership and accusations of collusion with the RUF plagued the operation.[5]

Despite these problems, the UN did launch the DDR program and began to disarm some of the AFRC/RUF forces. However, the UN forces were of such poor quality that they were unable to defend themselves from the RUF. Rebel forces prevented the UN from deploying to particular areas. They ambushed UN troops and took their equipment. The situation deteriorated even more in April–May 2000, when 500 UN peacekeepers were taken hostage by the RUF.[6] The UNAMSIL leadership feared not only for the safety of their troops, but also that the RUF would attack Freetown again, as it had with calamitous results in early 1999.[7] UNAMSIL commanders felt that they were in no position to enforce the peace agreement or even to protect their forces. The impotence of the UN was compounded by the weakness of Sierra Leone's government forces. Throughout the conflict, the only effective soldiers had been the Nigerian-dominated ECOMOG forces, the independent local Kamajor militias, private military companies, and the RUF. Many of the poorly paid soldiers in the government's Civil Defense Forces (CDF) were "sobels," soldiers by day and rebels by night.[8] Without effective international aid, Kabbah's government had little hope of halting the rebel advance.

Substantial numbers of foreign nationals still resided in Sierra Leone in May 2000, including approximately 500 British nationals who lived in Freetown. Their safety depended on the successful

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[5]   United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, "Sierra Leone UNAMSIL Background," Web page, 2005; Dobbins, Jones, et al. (2005, pp. 139–142).

[6]   Tom Cooper and Court "Skyler" Chick, "Sierra Leone, 1990-2002," *ACIG Journal*, August 5, 2004.

[7]   Cooper and Chick (2004); Paul Williams, "Fighting for Freetown: British Military Intervention in Sierra Leone," *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 22, No. 3, December 2001, pp. 153–154.

[8]   Williams (2001, p. 144).

implementation of a peace agreement.[9] The British government had little hope of getting these individuals out safely if the rebels invaded Freetown.

Humanitarian

Sierra Leone was flooded with internally displaced persons (IDPs), many of them amputees from the RUF's attacks on civilians. Five to six thousand people had died during the previous attack on Freetown in early 1999. Another attack was likely to be as deadly.[10]

Civil Administration

ECOMOG forces returned Kabbah to power in March 1998 after Major Johnny Paul Koroma and the AFRC had deposed him by a military coup. Koroma had made a deal with the RUF, resulting in the AFRC/RUF military junta in 1997. The AFRC/RUF had looted the treasury, and when Kabbah was reinstated, there was no money left. The government was incapable of providing services, and NGOs and other foreign agencies stepped in to fill the breach.

Even before the conflict, Sierra Leone was poorly governed. It had become a typical "warlord state."[11] Leaders relied on personal patronage to ensure their positions. The traditional state apparatus was weak. Leaders hired private security companies to provide protection. They were incapable of raising tax revenues because the country's major sources of income were controlled by patronage networks. Government leaders would have tried to strengthen Sierra Leone's security forces to combat the rebels, but they feared that stronger security forces made a coup more likely. The lack of government control, a large population of young men, and ready access to money from the diamond mines made it easy for the RUF to recruit. Support from Charles Taylor's Liberia

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[9]   Kargbo (2006, pp. 298–303).

[10]   Kargbo (2006, pp. 303–305).

[11]   Reno (1998, Chapter 4).

helped.[12] Any intervention would have to demobilize this large, undisciplined army if Sierra Leone was to have some kind of peace.

Democratization

The British government under John Major had encouraged elections in Sierra Leone in 1996 in the hopes of weakening the RUF's power. The British government also hoped that the RUF might be dissuaded from continuing the conflict if its leadership were included in an elected government. But the strategy failed: The RUF leadership showed no interest in participating in the elections. Because of the conflict and pressure not to vote from the RUF, only 25 percent of the population voted.[13] President Kabbah won this election but was evicted from office by the 1997 AFRC coup. He returned to power after ECOMOG forces recaptured Freetown. In light of this sorry history and the general lack of democratic experience, holding elections again, especially with the RUF continuing to control large sections of the country, was going to be difficult and perhaps futile.

Economic Reconstruction

Sierra Leone's economy was devastated. Already one of the poorest countries in the world, by 1998, the country's GDP was half of what it had been before the war.[14] In addition to the gruesome attacks on civilians, combatants looted and destroyed property. Sierra Leone's rich alluvial diamond fields perpetuated the war. The RUF had gained control of these fields and used diamond sales to enrich its leadership and fund its rebellion. The quantity of diamonds mined during the war was high, and the rebels had little difficulty selling them. When they were unable to ship diamonds through Freetown, they smuggled them

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[12] Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Witness to Truth: Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Vol. 2, Sierra Leone, 2004, pp. 6–7; Joseph Hanlon, "Is the International Community Helping to Recreate the Preconditions for War in Sierra Leone?" *Round Table*, Vol. 94, No. 381, September 2005, pp. 469–470.

[13] Kargbo (2006, p. 252).

[14] World Bank, "Transitional Support Strategy for the Republic of Sierra Leone," March 3, 2002, p. 2.

out through Liberia or through Sierra Leone's other neighbors. Diamond dealers in Monrovia handled the bulk of the RUF's "blood diamonds," channeling them into the legitimate international diamond market. Government forces also relied on the diamond trade for financial support. The CDF paid for arms and ammunition from the sales of diamonds to merchants in Guinea. Because diamond revenue was so important, finding a way to bring diamond mining under official control was critical to creating a viable government in Sierra Leone.

The European and International Roles

Although the UN was ostensibly the lead international element in Sierra Leone, ECOMOG forces also remained, and a British intervention was eventually needed to rescue the faltering UN effort. The objectives of UNAMSIL were to

- help the government of Sierra Leone implement the DDR plan
- monitor adherence to the cease-fire
- provide security at key locations, such as Freetown, government buildings, important intersections, and major airports
- coordinate with and assist the Sierra Leone law-enforcement authorities in the discharge of their responsibilities
- guard weapons, ammunition, and other military equipment collected from excombatants and assist in the disposal or destruction of these weapons.

The UN's military component had an initial authorized strength of 6,000 military personnel, including 260 military observers. Twelve thousand ECOMOG troops also remained in the country and assisted the United Nations in its military tasks. In addition, the United Nations deployed up to 170 civilian police to help rebuild the Sierra Leone police forces.[15]

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[15] UNSC Resolution 1436, on the situation in Sierra Leone, September 24, 2002, pp. 2–3.

Both the Clinton and Blair administrations pressured Kabbah to accept the peace terms offered to the RUF in the Lomé Agreement. The Reverend Jesse Jackson, President Clinton's special envoy to West Africa, helped broker the Lomé Agreement, maintained contact with Charles Taylor, and sought to redirect Sankoh's ambitions into political as opposed to military competition. British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook joined the Clinton administration in pressing Kabbah to sign the Lomé Agreement, and the United Kingdom also supported an arms embargo against the AFRC/RUF regime. While initially content to let regional forces assume responsibility for security in Sierra Leone, ultimately, Prime Minister Blair proved willing to intervene. The United States, for its part, provided training and logistical support for ECOMOG, including airlifting Indian and Jordanian contingents into Sierra Leone.

A number of nearby countries were players in Sierra Leone. The RUF received support from Libya, Liberia, and, to a lesser extent, Burkina Faso. Libyan support came primarily in the early 1990s, when Sankoh and other RUF leaders received guerrilla training in that country. Sankoh's friendship with Charles Taylor began at this time, and during the conflict, Liberia furnished the RUF with logistical support in exchange for diamonds.

Nigeria, the leading contributor to ECOMOG, had actively supported the government of Sierra Leone since 1994, when the two countries signed a mutual defense agreement. Prior to the dispatch of a UN force, Nigeria and other West African contributors to ECOMOG deployed a peacekeeping force that sought to oversee disarmament. In both the Abidjan and Conakry peace agreements, the RUF had promised to disarm. When the RUF refused to lay down its arms, ECOMOG forces had became active combatants in support of Sierra Leone's government forces.

With the United States and the United Kingdom preoccupied with the crisis in Kosovo, regional players initially played the dominant role but were unable to deploy forces equal to the challenge of stabilizing the country and enforcing the various peace agreements.

Military and Police

The UN peacekeeping force was authorized to provide for the security and freedom of movement of UN personnel, monitor the cease-fire, support the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and help safeguard future political elections.[16] The initial UK intervention in Sierra Leone focused on making Freetown secure and rescuing the UN forces from the RUF. Operation Palliser, which took place in May–June 2000, was comprised of approximately 700 troops on the ground and the support of seven ships and 4,500 personnel offshore. Its mandate was to protect the airport and evacuate British citizens. The rescue mission, Operation Barras, included the 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment (1 Para) and a detachment from the Special Air Service (SAS). This force defeated the West Side Boys, a group of thugs who were part of the RUF, and rescued the UN hostages. The battle eventually led to the end of the conflict in Sierra Leone. After the conflict ended, the United Kingdom maintained forces in the area for some time as a deterrent, engaging in occasional military exercises to signal to the former combatants that British forces remained nearby.

Both Operation Palliser and Operation Barras were conducted independently of the UN. The United Kingdom did not wish to accept the limited mandate of the UN forces or the UN's stance that its forces were a neutral party standing between government and RUF forces. The British did coordinate with the UN forces, in part through the British officers assigned to the UN operation.[17] During Operation Barras, British SAS forces coordinated with Indian forces outside Freetown, as well as with a Jordanian battalion that sealed the routes into and out of Magbeni.[18] The United Kingdom also helped the Sierra Leone government to revamp its security forces. This military training mission included 300 to 600 British troops charged with training the

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[16] UNSC Resolution 1270, on the situation in Sierra Leone, October 22, 1999, p. 3.

[17] Andrew Dorman, "The British Experience of Low Intensity Conflict in Sierra Leone," paper presented at the British International Studies Association Conference, Cork, Ireland, December 2006, p. 4.

[18] See, for example, Richard Connaughton, "Operation 'Barass,'" *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 2001.

Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) and providing military advice. It also sponsored a police-training mission to develop basic skills in local police forces and reduce corruption.

Civil and Economic

The UN mission included 300 civilian personnel supporting a range of nation-building objectives. The British had established the Africa Conflict Prevention Pool in London to coordinate its efforts at peacemaking on the continent, drawing on assets from the Ministry of Defence, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the Department for International Development (DFID).[19] Foreign and Commonwealth Office programs were directed at developing local institutions, and DFID programs were focused on stimulating economic development.

What Happened

The UK mission in Sierra Leone was largely successful. It prevented the UN operation from collapsing, made DDR possible, and helped bring the conflict to a close. The country remains, nevertheless, in a deeply troubled state. The government has been unable to reassert control over diamond-mining operations, corruption is endemic, and large numbers of lawless adolescents roam the country.[20]

Without the UK intervention, the conflict probably would have continued. By providing a security guarantee to the Sierra Leone government and the UN, Britain faced down the rebels, forcing them to comply with the terms of their earlier agreements. The number of British soldiers in country was relatively small. The defeat of the West Side Boys cowed the RUF. They avoided fighting the British troops and stopped attacking the RSLAF and UN forces as well.

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[19] UK Department for International Development, *The Africa Conflict Prevention Pool: An Information Document*, London, September 2004, pp. 3–12.

[20] Reno (2003, pp. 47, 63–66).

Security

The United Kingdom provided independent support for the UN operation by defeating the West Side Boys and the RUF, rescuing the UN hostages, strengthening the RSLAF, employing the RSLAF to force the RUF to demobilize, and providing a credible security guarantee for the government. It did so with great economy of force, employing at most 1,000 troops on the ground, though it could not have accomplished its mission without the large UN force or the local army.

Operation Palliser constituted the first stage of the UK intervention with the goals of securing the airport and evacuating the 500 noncombatants detained by the RUF. The mission successfully evacuated British nationals and some other noncombatants and rapidly secured the airport. Operation Palliser officially ended on June 15, leaving 200 British personnel to continue to train the RSLAF in Operation Basilica.

On August 25, the West Side Boys captured 11 British soldiers after they had visited a Jordanian UNAMSIL camp.[21] Their capture led to the second stage of the United Kingdom's effort, Operation Barras. After a series of negotiations, Britain secured the release of five of the hostages. However, negotiations to secure the release of the remaining six soon stalled. SAS teams, supported by 1 Para, raided the West Side Boys' camp on September 10, 2000, rescuing all of the hostages and disarming the West Side Boys. One British soldier was killed and several others were seriously wounded.[22] Barras and Palliser established the British as a feared fighting force, thereby deterring further hostage-taking and other violations of the peace agreement.[23]

The British advisory and training mission to the RSLAF, which began in 1999, was another important component of the country's efforts to establish security in Sierra Leone. The British mission had

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[21] William Fowler, *Operation Barras: The SAS Rescue Mission: Sierra Leone 2000*, London: Cassell, 2004, pp. 78–108.

[22] Fowler (2004, Chapter 8).

[23] Kwaku Nuamah and I. William Zartman, "Case Study: Intervention in Sierra Leone," paper prepared for Intervention in Internal Conflict Conference, Center for International and Security Studies, University of Maryland, December 7, 2001, p. 15.

three components: staffing, training, and equipping the RSLAF; helping the RSLAF to make necessary institutional changes; and making the RUF participate in the DDR process, by force if necessary. The military mission facilitated the DDR mission and helped make the RSLAF a stronger, more professional force.

British support through Palliser and Barras shifted the initiative from the RUF to the government and the UN. British military advisers were assigned directly to RSLAF units, and the British commander, General Jonathon Riley, became a de facto commander of the 14,000-strong Sierra Leone army. According to General Riley,

> I decided on an approach of good cop/bad cop with the rebels: They could either fight me [i.e., the RSLAF with British advisers] and get killed, or go to the UN and enter the DDR process. I did not really mind which.[24]

The British ensured that the RSLAF was strong enough to coerce the rebels into participating in the DDR program. When the program officially ended on March 31, 2004, a total of 72,490 combatants had been demobilized. The program disarmed the RUF and was widely viewed as successful. However, in many instances, former combatants were only partially reintegrated into Sierra Leone society. Moreover, many civilians who had suffered at the hands of the RUF were outraged by the benefits paid to excombatants, many of whom had committed serious crimes during the war.[25]

The British had some success in making the RSLAF a better force. For example, British forces organized a 12-week training course. Run by 300 to 600 British troops, it was designed to train 12,500 RSLAF soldiers. While the initial mission focused on military training, the

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[24] Major General Jonathon P. Riley, "The U.K. in Sierra Leone: A Post-Conflict Operation Success?" Heritage Lecture No. 958, delivered June 15, 2006, Washington, D.C.: Heritage Foundation, August 10, 2006, pp. 2–3.

[25] J. Andrew Grant, "Diamonds, Foreign Aid and the Uncertain Prospects for Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Sierra Leone," *Round Table*, Vol. 94, No. 381, September 2005, pp. 444–446; Osman Gbla, "Security Sector Reform Under International Tutelage in Sierra Leone," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 13, No. 1, March 2006, pp. 85–86.

overall effort included promoting greater loyalty to the government, a sense of esprit de corps, and respect for human rights. The UK-led training mission continued after the end of the conflict in the form of the International Military Advisory and Training Team.[26] The RSLAF grew to 14,500 troops in 2003, and by 2005, infighting among its units, a problem in the past, had disappeared. As the RSLAF became significantly more disciplined and professional, the UK also helped the government of Sierra Leone set up institutions responsible for security, including its Ministry of Defence and Office of National Security. The government of Sierra Leone was not closely engaged in organizing these training courses, however. The UK's focus was on improving the capabilities of the RSLAF as quickly as possible, not on improving the ability of the government of Sierra Leone to design and run military training programs. Consequently, there remained a substantial gap between the capabilities of the foreign trainers and the local trainers who replaced them.[27]

The deployment of a strong, over-the-horizon reaction force played a major role in establishing security.[28] Royal Navy frigates had been deployed to support the Lomé Agreement, and the Royal Navy deployed to support Operation Palliser in May 2000. This task force included the aircraft carrier the HMS *Illustrious*, two frigates, a helicopter-landing ship, and four support vessels.[29] Following the war, the United Kingdom promised the UN and the government of Sierra Leone to continue to provide credible, occasionally visible over-the-horizon support. Through highly publicized exercises, it made sure that all parties to the conflict were aware of the existence of the force.

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[26] ICG, *Sierra Leone: Managing Uncertainty*, Africa Report No. 35, Freetown and Brussels, October 24, 2001, pp. 6–8, 12; Adrian Horn, Funmi Olonisakin, and Gordon Peake, "United Kingdom–Led Security Sector Reform in Sierra Leone," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 2006, pp. 119–121; British Army, "The British Army in Africa," Web page, last updated March 26, 2007.

[27] Horn, Olonisakin, and Peake (2006, pp. 119–121).

[28] Riley (2006, p. 2); Julia MacKenzie, "British Naval Fleet Sails in Freetown," *Guardian*, October 25, 2006.

[29] James Paul and Martin Spirit, "Operation Palliser," *Britain's Small Wars, 1945–2005*, Web page, 2002; Fowler (2004, p. 91).

In 2006, the United Kingdom moved 3,000 troops to Sierra Leone on short-term deployments. This move hammered home the ability of the UK forces to quickly move into the country in large numbers.[30] Faced with the prospect of British escalation, the RUF agreed to end the conflict and disarm. The UN won several engagements after the British forces arrived in May 2000.[31] The British troops were greatly respected; the occasional military exercises proved invaluable for maintaining security.[32]

The British made only limited progress on improving the police, however. Beginning in 1998, the UK government invested $40 million in training police and establishing a functioning Sierra Leone police force of 6,000. After the initial push to rapidly train new recruits, training focused on community-centered policing strategies. It was complemented by efforts to improve the judicial system. The Sierra Leone police force did not become self-sufficient, however. Moreover, despite the training, the performance of many new recruits began to decline after a few years.[33] Police often solicited bribes, and senior officers often did not hold lower-ranked police to account. Part of the problem was a chronic shortage of funding. The police argued that they did not have sufficient funds to maintain their equipment. They also faced armed criminals, as firearms remained available despite the DDR program.[34] The police frequently did not respond to calls for help from citizens. Because of police deficiencies, corporations and wealthier communities hired private security companies to provide protection. In lower-

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[30] "Sierra Leone Deployment Provides Valuable Lessons for Royal Navy Amphibious Task Group," part 1, *Defence News*, November 6, 2006.

[31] Cooper and Chick (2004).

[32] ICG, *Sierra Leone: The Election Opportunity*, Africa Report No. 129, Dakar and Brussels, July 12, 2007c, p. 13.

[33] Horn, Olonisakin, and Peake (2006, pp. 113–119); Gbla (2006, pp. 86–88); ICG (2007c, p. 13).

[34] Sarah Meek, "Policing Sierra Leone," in Mark Malan, Sarah Meek, Thokozani Thusi, Jeremy Ginifer, and Patrick Coker, *Sierra Leone: Building the Road to Recovery*, Monograph No. 80, Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, March 2004.

income areas, vigilante groups, sometimes gangs of youths, caught and punished those thought to have committed crimes.[35]

Humanitarian

The United Kingdom did not become directly involved in humanitarian assistance. Its greatest contribution was to reopen the airport and maintain the flow of aid.[36]

Civil Administration

Following the war, the United Kingdom tried to help the Sierra Leone government improve its operations. DFID funded a number of programs to improve government institutions and NGOs in Sierra Leone. Many of the NGOs targeted their efforts at improving living conditions among different elements of Sierra Leone's society.

Over time, the United Kingdom shifted its emphasis from security reform to economic and governance aid.[37] It made a concerted effort to introduce programs designed to reduce corruption. These programs were not very successful, however. Corruption has long run rampant in Sierra Leone. Some outside observers claim that it was a key contributing factor to igniting the civil war.[38] In 2000, the United Kingdom strongly supported the establishment of the Anti-Corruption Commission, a government organization to investigate corruption. A 2006 DFID review of the commission found that it had made little progress in reducing corruption and that it had had little impact on improving perceptions of corruption in the country. No high-level government officials had been prosecuted. The report recommended discontinuing

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[35] Bruce Baker, "Who Do People Turn to for Policing in Sierra Leone?" *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3, September 2005, pp. 371–387.

[36] Richard Fanthorpe, "Humanitarian Aid in Post-War Sierra Leone: The Politics of Moral Economy," Humanitarian Policy Group Background Paper No. 13, London: Overseas Development Group, February 2003, pp. 3–4.

[37] Jeremy Ginifer with Kaye Oliver, *Evaluation of the Conflict Prevention Pools: Sierra Leone*, London: UK Department for International Development, Evaluation Report No. 647, March 2004, pp. 1–4.

[38] Reno (1998, Chapter 4).

support for the Anti-Corruption Commission.[39] In 2006, Transparency International ranked Sierra Leone 142 out of 163 countries in its Corruption Perceptions Index.[40]

The United Kingdom also funded an effort to reinstate the paramount tribal chiefs, whom the RUF had targeted during the conflict. DFID attempted to help the chiefs regain some of their lost authority. It provided funding to build them new houses and supported them in local elections. However, the paramount tribal chiefs were notorious for abusing power. They did not consider themselves accountable to their people. They often arbitrarily imposed high fines, including taking land from young men.[41] The sense of disenfranchisement among young men and the informal patrimonial networks propagated by the chiefs spurred the search for other leaders, especially on the part of young men.

The United Kingdom funded a variety of other smaller programs, including reviews of specific agencies, training programs for civil servants, and salary support for some government agencies.[42] These programs contributed to some improvements in these areas, but in general, the government administration remained venal and inefficient. Because of the lack of success of programs directed at specific agencies, the United Kingdom and other donors shifted their focus to engaging senior politicians in choosing projects and committing themselves to improving government operations. The Improved Governance and Accountability Pact of July 2006 between Sierra Leone and its devel-

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[39] Joel Cutting and Gladwell Otieno, *Annual Review of DFID Support to the Anti-Corruption Commission Phase 2 in Sierra Leone*, London: UK Department for International Development, January 25, 2007. For an earlier assessment, see ICG, *Sierra Leone: The State of Security and Governance*, Africa Report No. 67, Freetown and Brussels, September 2, 2003d, pp. 19–21.

[40] Transparency International, *Global Corruption Report 2007: Corruption in Judicial Systems*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 330.

[41] Richard Fanthorpe, "On the Limits of Liberal Peace: Chiefs and Democratic Decentralization in Post-War Sierra Leone," *African Affairs*, Vol. 105, No. 418, January 2006, pp. 34–40; ICG, *Liberia and Sierra Leone: Rebuilding Failed States*, Africa Report No. 87, Dakar and Brussels, December 8, 2004, pp. 23–24.

[42] Riley (2006, p. 3).

opment partners committed the international community to trying to tailor aid programs more carefully to Sierra Leone's needs, thereby improving the effectiveness of aid while committing the government to improving its operations in 10 areas. Key areas included introducing measures to reduce corruption and taking steps to decentralize the government.[43]

Democratization

UK efforts to encourage Sierra Leone to become more democratic were largely successful. The first postwar elections were held in May 2002, and the Sierra Leone People's Party and Kabbah won a majority of the votes. The successful election was largely due to the UN's efforts, though the United Kingdom contributed by helping political parties and providing funding to NGOs for voter education and get-out-the-vote drives. The election was widely perceived to be fair, though the international community's preference for an early vote and a Kabbah victory were readily apparent.[44] Ethnic tensions between the Mende and Temne, the two dominant ethnic groups in Sierra Leone, played a large role in the electoral results and in Sierra Leone's general political climate.[45] The United Kingdom also tried to foster the development of healthy, independent media. Following the conflict, a diverse, healthy media emerged, consisting of a wide variety of newspapers and radio stations.[46]

The United Kingdom also funded two organizations to promote reconciliation: the Special Court for Sierra Leone and the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Special Court, officially created in January 2002, was a criminal tribunal designed to bring to

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[43] UK Department for International Development, "Improved Governance and Accountability Pact (IGAP) for Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development in Sierra Leone," joint communiqué, July 18, 2006.

[44] ICG, *Sierra Leone After Elections: Politics as Usual?* Africa Report No. 49, Freetown and Brussels, July 15, 2002a.

[45] ICG (2007c, pp. 2–4).

[46] UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, "Sierra Leone: Making a Difference: Governance," undated[b]; ICG (2007c, p. 15).

justice "those who bear the greatest responsibility" for war crimes committed since 1996. Individuals not prosecuted by the Special Court were guaranteed immunity by the Lomé Agreement. The court began operations in July 2002, with the United States as a major supporter, which it preferred to the involvement of the International Criminal Court.[47]

The Special Court indicted those most responsible for the conflict. A total of 12 individuals were indicted. Some were from the RUF; others were from the government's CDF and the AFRC. Charles Taylor, who was responsible for aiding the RUF throughout the war, was captured in Ghana while attending peace talks on the war in Liberia. Two of the most notorious criminals, former RUF leaders Sankoh and Sam "Mosquito" Bockarie, died before they could be put on trial. AFRC leader Koroma could not be found. Most people in Sierra Leone appeared to support the court, though some, especially members of the Kamajor tribe, were upset at the prospect of trying CDF leaders who had helped defeat the RUF. Two sets of trials had been completed by 2007. Three AFRC defendants were convicted and sentenced to more than 45 years of prison in June 2007. The CDF trial finished in August 2007 with the conviction of two defendants. The third defendant, Sam Hinga Norman, died during the trial.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was tasked with writing an impartial history of the conflict.[48] The commission was less successful overall, partly because it did not have enough funding and partly because it proved difficult to induce victims or perpetrators to testify. The commission published its final report in 2006. This contained a comprehensive discussion of the causes and consequences of the war, noting that many of the conditions that led to the war, espe-

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[47] ICG, *The Special Court for Sierra Leone: Promises and Pitfalls of a "New Model,"* Africa Briefing No. 16, Freetown and Brussels, August 4, 2003c; President of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, *First Annual Report of the President of the Special Court for Sierra Leone for the Period 2 December 2002–1 December 2003*, Freetown, 2004, Annex IV.

[48] ICG, *Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: A Fresh Start?* Africa Briefing No. 12, Freetown and Brussels, December 20, 2002b; UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, "Sierra Leone: Making a Difference: Justice and Reconciliation," undated[c].

cially "poverty, marginalization, greed, and grievance," remained present in Sierra Leone.[49]

Economic Reconstruction

DFID and other foreign donors provided substantial budget support to the Sierra Leone government following the end of the conflict. In the first few years after the war, between 60 and 70 percent of Sierra Leone's government budget was financed by foreign aid.[50] DFID allocated funds based on a 10-year poverty-reduction framework, beginning in 2002. The framework committed the United Kingdom to continuing to provide budgetary support to the government of Sierra Leone if the government met six criteria, including fighting corruption, reducing poverty, and reforming the security sector.[51] The United Kingdom continued to be the largest individual contributor through 2007: Approximately one-third of the United Kingdom's assistance program of £40 million went directly to the government of Sierra Leone. DFID and other UK government agencies that provided funding to Sierra Leone played a key role in assisting the government in reasserting control over the diamond trade and promoting economic growth.

Funding to assist in controlling the diamond trade was perhaps the most important element of Sierra Leone's budget. The government had lost control over diamond revenues after Sankoh was appointed head of Sierra Leone's diamond commission, one of the important compromises in the Lomé Agreement. Sankoh was removed from this position in the aftermath of the British intervention.

The RUF, for its part, faced some difficulties in selling diamonds to finance the insurgency after the Kimberley Process was established in 2000. The Kimberley Process sought to end trade in conflict diamonds by insisting on certificates of origin that were difficult to counterfeit. Once the government gained control, Sierra Leone made sig-

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[49] Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2004, pp. 6–8).

[50] UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, "Sierra Leone: Making a Difference: Economy," undated[a]; Grant (2005, p. 446).

[51] Republic of Sierra Leone and the Government of the United Kingdom, "Poverty Reduction Framework Arrangement," November 13, 2002.

nificant progress in increasing legal diamond exports. These rose from just $1.2 million in 1999 to $140 million in 2005 and $125 million in 2006. However, actual production and sales was estimated to be $200 million annually, so widespread smuggling continued.[52] The government imposed a 3-percent levy on all exported diamonds. This was deemed small enough so as not to encourage smuggling. A law giving 40 percent of captured diamond revenues to anyone who reported illicit trade in diamonds led to some seizures, discouraged smuggling, and increased tax revenues. In 2005, a DFID review found that there had been significant progress in improving government control of the diamond fields but that the government's capacity to exercise control and collect tax revenues remained limited.

Despite its many problems, Sierra Leone has enjoyed strong, steady economic growth since the end of the conflict. Despite this growth, per capita incomes still lag those of most of its neighbors.[53] Sierra Leone ranked 177 out of 177 countries in the UNDP's 2007–2008 Human Development Index, with very low life expectancy and per capita incomes.[54] Figure 3.2 illustrates the levels of British assistance as a proportion of the total international aid.

Lessons Learned

Sierra Leone marked an important turning point in UN post–Cold War nation-building. After a strong start in the early 1990s in Namibia, Mozambique, Cambodia, and El Salvador, the UN began to take on more daunting missions—with less satisfactory results. First in Somalia, then in Rwanda, it failed completely. The UN mission in Bosnia was also widely regarded as a failure, though it did ultimately lead to the Dayton peace settlement. By the late 1990s, the credibility of armed UN-led interventions was very low. The early course of the operation

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[52] Grant (2005, pp. 451–454); ICG (2007c, p. 10).

[53] IMF, *Sierra Leone: 2006 Article IV Consultation*, Country Report 07/68, Washington, D.C., February 2007a, p. 4.

[54] UNDP, *Human Development Report 2007/2008*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Figure 3.2
Total Aid to Sierra Leone
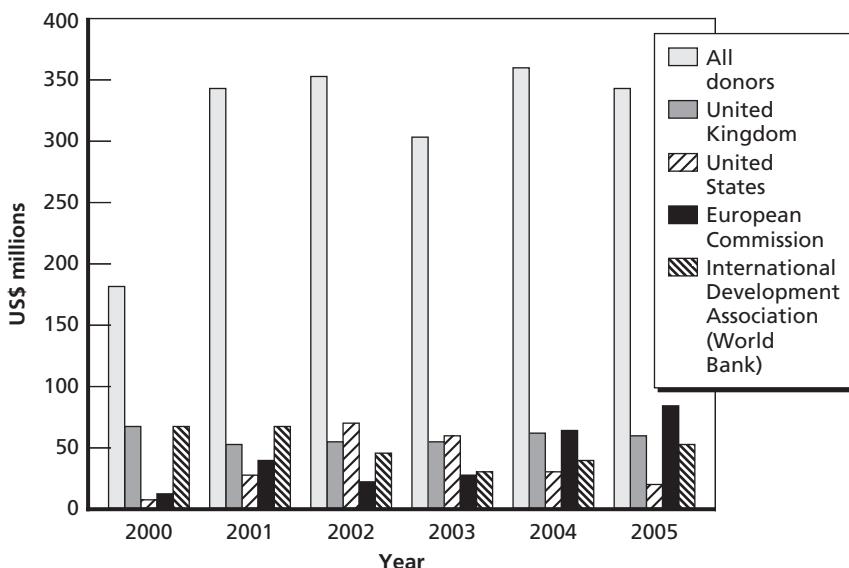
SOURCE: OECD data.

in Sierra Leone seemed destined to cement that reputation. The turn-
around of that operation, which the United Kingdom helped effect,
carried over into subsequent UN missions, which tended to have more
robust mandates and force structures and achieved higher levels of
success.

There are several lessons to be derived from this successful British
intervention:

- Peacekeepers require mandates, rules of engagement, equipment,
  and training that are suitable to their mission, which must some-
  times include the use of deadly force for the purpose of more than
  self-defense.
- In situations in which resistance is to be expected, peacekeeping
  forces require well-trained, heavily armed, highly mobile reserves
  capable of backing up or rescuing lightly armed troops.

- Multiple international commands can operate effectively in the same space, provided that their activities are closely coordinated, their missions are compatible, and the duration of their coincident operations is limited.
- Proponents of peacekeeping missions within the UNSC have an obligation to ensure that the resultant missions are adequately mandated, staffed, and equipped.

These are all fairly obvious lessons, but they are ones that UNSC members have been prone to ignore until faced with disaster of the sort that confronted them in Sierra Leone. The United Nations insists on permissive entry as a prerequisite for the deployment of any peacekeeping force. In many cases, however, the peace that the UN has been directed by the UNSC to secure is fragile, and resistance to the intervention can be anticipated. Prior to Sierra Leone, the UNSC had generally been reluctant to provide mandates that permitted the use of deadly force in the performance of missions, not just for self-defense. By the mid 1990s, the UN was also encountering difficulty securing the contribution of troops capable of executing such missions. Sierra Leone underscored the need for both.

The Sierra Leone experience demonstrated the importance of mobile reserves of high-quality troops available to back up the efforts of the more lightly armed, less highly trained units on which the UN depends for most peacekeeping activities. In the absence of such capabilities, international forces may be challenged and humiliated and may lose credibility. Capability needs to be matched by will, however. In Bosnia in the early 1990s, UN forces had been comprised of heavily equipped and well-trained European troops who were challenged and humiliated and lost credibility, despite their having a strong Chapter VII mandate that authorized the use of force to protect the civilian populations in their charge. The success of the UK intervention in Sierra Leone derived not just from the quality of its military, but also from London's willingness to engage them with sharp, tactically aggressive, and decisive action.

The operation of multiple military commands within the same area is seldom a good idea. The resultant challenges of coordination

are a standing invitation for fratricide, failure to render timely support, missed opportunities, and unnecessary duplication. Nevertheless, while unity of command is highly desirable, so is broad participation. Trade-offs between these two desiderata are sometimes necessary. In Sierra Leone, the addition of a separate UK command to an already highly complicated international environment, where both UN and ECOMOG troops were present, worked because the British intervention was short lived, tightly focused, and well coordinated with UN activity. More extended efforts to run parallel UN and nationally led interventions, in Somalia in the early 1990s and the Côte d'Ivoire in the current decade, have fared less well.

It is obviously preferable to equip UN peacekeeping missions adequately from the beginning, rather than to rescue them in mid-course. While the United Kingdom should be credited with helping to turn around the UN mission in Sierra Leone, the British government must also share responsibility for the mission's initial near collapse. As the permanent member of the UNSC most concerned with Sierra Leone by reason of its colonial heritage, the United Kingdom voted to deploy UN peacekeepers into a chaotic and potentially very violent situation and then failed to ensure that the resultant force contained a core of well-trained, mobile, heavily equipped troops. The decision to deploy a UN force into Sierra Leone was taken just as the Kosovo peacekeeping operation was gearing up. The United Kingdom and most other Western militaries were making large troop commitments there as they had in Bosnia. This explains—if it cannot entirely excuse—the unwillingness of these governments to contribute to a difficult and dangerous mission in Sierra Leone that several of them voted to launch.

Macedonia

In March 2001, a small band of ethnic Albanian rebels captured a police station in northern Macedonia. The event marked the start of a low-level rebellion that would last six months. In the wake of the Kosovo crisis and a decade of Balkan conflagrations, many feared that Macedonia would become the next Balkan disaster. From its outbreak in March 2001, the European Union took the lead in organizing the Western response to the crisis.[1] The political environment in both the United States and Europe was conducive to a European lead. In the United States, the new George W. Bush administration had been critical of previous Balkan interventions and was thus content to keep a low profile.[2] By contrast, Europe sought to overcome the widespread perception of European impotence that had been created by its earlier Balkan failures. The EU had also recently granted Macedonia a stabilization and association agreement (SAA), the first step down the road

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[1] On the 2001 crisis, see Robert Hislope, "Between a Bad Peace and a Good War: Insights and Lessons from the Almost-War in Macedonia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, January 2003; Alice Ackermann, "International Intervention in Macedonia: From Preventive Engagement to Peace Implementation," in Peter Siani-Davies, ed., *International Intervention in the Balkans Since 1995*, London: Routledge, 2003; Brenda Pearson, *Putting Peace into Practice: Can Macedonia's New Government Meet the Challenge?* Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 96, November 2002; and Ted Galen Carpenter, "Kosovo and Macedonia: The West Enhances the Threat," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Winter 2002. For a comparative study of Macedonia in the broader region, see Elizabeth Pond, *Endgame in the Balkans: Regime Change, European Style*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006, Chapter 7.

[2] As noted by a senior administration official closely involved with the Balkans policy, telephone interview, April 10, 2007.

toward membership in the EU. All these considerations suggested an EU lead.

In the beginning, the Western powers attempted to resolve the crisis through shuttle diplomacy. EU representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana and NATO secretary general Lord George Robertson, supported by the NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and U.S. State Department officials, made several trips to Macedonia, seeking to quell the violence and bring the two sides together. The strategy consisted of support for the government's campaign against the rebels, combined with calls for restraint from the military. As the insurgency grew, however, diplomats began to press the legitimate Albanian political parties and the Slavic majority to arrive at a plan for addressing some Albanian grievances. By June, however, there was still no progress on a reform plan. Instead, the crisis appeared to be intensifying. Rebels were within reach of the capital. The United States and EU thus redoubled their efforts, sending in a permanent negotiating team: former French Defense Minister François Leotard and U.S. Balkans expert Ambassador James Pardew. The team arrived in late June 2001 and initiated a new round of talks based on a proposal by the French legal expert Robert Badinter. Although tit-for-tat fighting continued, these more focused talks led to a framework agreement at Lake Ohrid on August 13, 2001. The agreement was signed by Macedonia's four main political parties, its president, and representatives of the United States and the EU. A separate cease-fire agreement was negotiated between NATO and the rebel leadership.

A week later, NATO troops moved in and reconstruction began. The first and largest of the military operations was NATO's Essential Harvest, which began nine days after the Ohrid Agreement was signed. Essential Harvest was followed by two smaller NATO missions and, eventually, two EU operations, Concordia and Proxima. NATO also helped train Macedonian security forces to prepare them for eventual NATO membership. Though imperfect in some respects, that effort was largely successful, and by 2005, Macedonia had become a candidate for membership in the EU and NATO. Figure 4.1 presents a map of Macedonia and the broader region.

Figure 4.1
Map of Macedonia

SOURCE: CIA, University of Texas, Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, 1994.
RAND *MG722-4.1*

Challenges

Security

The Macedonian conflict arose from underlying tensions between the country's Slavic Macedonian majority and Muslim Albanian minority.[3] Ethnic Albanians, who represented some 30 percent of the population, harbored several grievances about the Slavic-dominated state. They were economically disadvantaged, complained of discrimination and animosity from the Slavic majority, and believed that the 1991 Macedonian constitution was biased against them. Throughout the 1990s, the ethnic Albanians had agitated not only for changes to the constitution, but also for more extensive official use of the Albanian language, increased self-government, and greater representation in law enforcement, public enterprise, and national bureaucracy.

The Slavic majority had resisted Albanian demands for several reasons. First, throughout the 1990s, and especially during and after the Kosovo war, there was extensive discussion of the possibility of the creation of a "Greater Albania," comprising Albania proper, Kosovo, and the Albanian-dominated regions of Macedonia.[4] Although it was never clear whether such an idea held much appeal to Macedonia's Albanians, whose leadership would gain little from being subsumed by a Greater Albania,[5] the possibility was enough to rouse fears that ethnic Albanian demands were the first step toward partition of the country. Macedonian intransigence in the face of ethnic Albanian grievances also resulted from the weakness of Macedonian national identity. The very idea of "Macedonia" seemed under constant attack: The Macedonian church was not recognized by the Serbs, Bulgaria insisted that the Macedonian language was only a dialect of Bulgarian, and Greece objected strongly to the country's very name, thereby creating a major problem for Macedonia's political and economic relations with Europe

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[3] On Macedonia in the 1990s, see Alice Ackermann, *Making Peace Prevail: Preventing Violent Conflict in Macedonia*, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

[4] On this issue, see Tim Judah, "Greater Albania?" *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 2, January 2001.

[5] As noted by several U.S. and EU officials close to the 2001 diplomatic effort.

and the West.[6] Insecurity over Macedonia's identity only made Macedonians more reluctant to accede to Albanian demands for a multi-ethnic polity.[7] Add to this that Albanian birthrates outstripped those of Macedonians of Slavic origin, and the sources of their fears of Albanian demands become clear.

Slavic resistance was not the only reason for slow progress on Albanian rights. More broadly, Macedonia had experienced a decade of domestic and regional crises that had retarded political and economic progress. Domestically, the country faced the usual difficulties of postcommunist political and economic reform. Internationally, the Balkan wars were a constant distraction. The Kosovo crisis inundated the country with refugees, further dampening any momentum toward effective policy changes.

From the perspective of the Western powers, although the 2001 insurgency was small, the stakes were high. Thousands had died in the previous Balkan wars, and many more had been displaced. The regional economy had suffered, and the geopolitical stability of Europe's southeastern flank was shaken. The intervention of the United States and the EU in Bosnia and Kosovo had proven both financially and politically costly. As of 2001, tens of thousands of NATO troops were still deployed in the region. Moreover, previous Balkan crises had damaged the credibility of both the EU and the UN. The EU, which had pressed ahead with the development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in response to these previous failures, thus had a great deal to prove this time. In addition, recent history had illustrated that war in the Balkans could seriously strain the Atlantic alliance, so the United States and the EU correspondingly had a clear interest in ensuring that Macedonia's problems did not get out of hand. Finally, given that Bulgaria and Greece had historical differences with the Macedonian republic, there was a danger that the crisis might provoke a broader regional confrontation. Macedonians often viewed all four of their neighbors as predators—"four wolves" eager to carve up the

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[6]   On national ideas, see David P. Calleo, *Coleridge and the Idea of the Modern State*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965.

[7]   On Macedonia's identity problems, see Hislope (2003).

country and parcel out its land—and Macedonia's growing internal conflict might easily have provided a pretext for doing so. The United States, and the EU especially, were clearly also eager to avoid any such territorial partition in Macedonia or elsewhere in the Balkans.

By the time NATO troops deployed, the fighting was over. The main security-related tasks were disarming the rebels and reforming the security sector. Disarmament involved collecting weapons voluntarily relinquished by the insurgents. Security-sector reform was more complicated, focusing primarily on the police. The Ohrid Agreement called for more minority representation in the national police force and an improvement in police practices. These two aims sometimes conflicted. Furthermore, increasing minority representation created tensions within the police hierarchy and between the police and local populations. An additional challenge was the growth of quasiparamilitary Slavic police units, such as the "Lions," which stirred up trouble and impeded reconciliation.[8] These problems were superimposed on a widespread distrust of the police, especially among the Albanian population. This was a legacy from the country's communist era. It was also necessary to reform the attitudes and practices of Macedonia's interior ministry, since many believed that the ministry's severe reaction to the initial crisis had exacerbated the insurgency.[9] Finally, organized crime was a serious and growing problem interlinked with the insurgency itself.

Humanitarian

At its height, the conflict created some 100,000 refugees and another 70,000 IDPs.[10] These included both ethnic Albanians and Macedonians. In addition, there was a need to rebuild some 4,000 houses and

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8   European Commission, *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: Stabilisation and Association Report*, first annual report, COM (2002) 163, Brussels, April 4, 2002, pp. 6, 8.

9   For example, European Commission (2002, p. 6).

10   UNHCR, "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia," UNHCR Briefing Notes, November 16, 2001c.

restore infrastructure in areas where it had been destroyed. Some land mines also had to be cleared.[11]

Civil Administration

One of the main Albanian complaints was that the state bureaucracy was dominated by Slavs. The Ohrid Agreement correspondingly called for an increase in minority representation. Achieving more equitable minority representation required recruiting personnel with less experience. This was a problematic move. Furthermore, because the agreement also called for decentralization, it created a need to build up local administrations. These parallel processes would be difficult to implement. Building a competent state bureaucracy was further complicated because the bureaucracy was highly politicized, and changes in government routinely meant major changes in the bureaucracy. Corruption was a significant problem. The judiciary was weak and subject to meddling from politicians. On top of the inefficiencies of the courts, the crisis had created an extensive backlog of cases.[12] Public confidence in the judicial system was low.[13] Combined with the problems of the Macedonian police, this meant that the overall rule of law was weak. The situation was worst in the crisis areas where the fighting had taken place.

Democratization

Macedonia had been a functioning, if somewhat limited, democracy since it gained independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. There was thus no need to rebuild the country's basic representative institutions. The main political issues revolved around the ratification and implementation of a peace agreement. The Ohrid Agreement outlined a number of specific measures. First, the wording of the constitution was to be

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[11] On the damage from the fighting, see European Commission and International Management Group, *Damage Assessment in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, Geneva, November 2001.

[12] European Commission, *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: Stabilisation and Association Report*, second annual report, COM (2003) 139 final, Brussels, March 26, 2003b, pp. 5–6.

[13] European Commission, *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: Stabilisation and Association Report*, third annual report, COM (2004) 204 final, Brussels, March 2004b, p. 8.

changed to better reflect the country's multiethnic nature. Second, the Albanian language was to be granted "official" status for use alongside Macedonian in certain circumstances. Third, certain types of legislation would now be subject to a double majority—one in parliament and the other within each ethnic group. Fourth, the agreement outlined political decentralization, which some nationalists believed amounted to de facto partition of the republic.

All these measures still had to be passed and implemented without a return to conflict. The risks of a major political crisis or even a relapse into violence remained high, especially because many Macedonians harbored ill will toward the Western intervention and believed that Ohrid had been imposed on them unfairly. Furthermore, it remained to be seen how the former insurgents, who created a major Albanian political party following the crisis, would behave in parliament.

Economic

Strengthening the Macedonian economy was crucial to stabilizing the Macedonian polity. Not only was a stronger economy a prerequisite to eventual Macedonian accession to the EU, but economic weakness in general and unemployment in particular were underlying causes of the conflict. Before the crisis, per capita incomes in Macedonia were well below the EU average. Since 1995, the economy had grown and developed trade and investment links with the rest of Europe, and the government had maintained comparative fiscal and monetary stability in spite of the trade embargo imposed by Greece, which blocked trade to the south, and the war in the Yugoslavia, which greatly limited trade to the north. Despite the positive signs, unemployment remained a major problem, especially in the Albanian community, whose jobless youth filled the ranks of the rebel army.

The crisis precipitated a recession and threatened to derail future prospects for growth by scaring off critical foreign capital. There was a marked slowdown in production, and exports declined as a result of the closing of trade routes through the crisis regions.[14] Simultane-

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[14] World Bank, *Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Transitional Support Strategy*, No. 22628, Washington, D.C., August 20, 2001, p. 4.

ously, the balance of payments was strained by the foreign-arms pur-chases of the Macedonian state.[15] Thus, both macroeconomic relief and industry rebuilding were necessary.[16] More fundamentally, the struc-tural transformation of the economy from the era of central planning still needed to be concluded if growth was to be sustained. Transfor-mation from a state-run economy to a liberal, free-market model cre-ated social and political strains that contributed to an already tense environment. The crisis had only made the need for successful trans-formation all the more pressing. By choosing to intervene, the inter-national community effectively took on some of these preexisting eco-nomic problems.

The European and International Roles

Crisis management and nation-building in Macedonia were led by the EU. As the crisis intensified in June 2001, the EU appointed a special representative (EUSR), who acted as EU High Representative (HR) Javier Solana's envoy on the ground and reported to the EU's Political and Security Committee. After the crisis had abated, the EUSR con-tinued as the informal leader of the international postconflict effort. An informal committee of principals, chaired by the EUSR, was set up to coordinate efforts within the international community. Its weekly meeting proved valuable both for coordinating the international effort and for ensuring that the international community presented a united front to the Macedonian government, which otherwise might have tried to play Western states against each other. One former EUSR considered the coordinating role of the position to be one of its most important features.[17]

If it was clear that the EU led the international effort, it was some-what less clear who was in charge within the EU itself. Many EU govern-

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[15] On the balance-of-payments effects of government arms purchases, see European Com-mission (2002, p. 6).

[16] World Bank (2001, pp. 4–6).

[17] Telephone interview with former EUSR, March 27, 2007.

ments had diplomatic representation in Skopje, and several EU bodies operated in the country during and after the crisis. During the crisis and its immediate aftermath, the EUSR was accepted as the head of the European mission, in large part because of the legitimacy afforded by the appointment from the Council of the European Union.[18] As time went by, however, the focus shifted from crisis management to development and Macedonia's bid for EU accession. These were areas in which the European Commission was in the lead, and the EUSR's authority began to erode. In response, the EUSR became "double-hatted" as the representative of the European Commission and the Council of the European Union. This move, in turn, met with objections from a vocal minority who feared that consolidating Council and Commission responsibilities in external policy was a means of importing the controversial EU Constitutional Treaty through the back door.[19]

Beyond the direct involvement of the European Union and the United States, a number of other actors were also involved in Macedonia. NATO was the most important of them, and the promise of NATO membership, like the promise of EU membership, was a crucial carrot for inducing changes in Macedonian political processes. The OSCE also played an important role. The World Bank, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), IMF, and others were also present. The majority of EU aid was handled through the regional European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR), established in 2000 to manage EU aid to the Balkans.

Military and Police

NATO and the European Union conducted four limited military operations in Macedonia after Ohrid. Unlike operations in Bosnia and Kosovo, these missions, though supported by the UN, had no official UN mandate, but rather were undertaken at the behest of the Macedonian government. The first and largest was NATO's Operation Essen-

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[18] Interview with former senior U.S. Department of State official, Washington, D.C., March 29, 2007.

[19] Telephone interview with an official from the Council of the European Union, May 7, 2007.

tial Harvest, which began nine days after the Ohrid Agreement was signed. Deployment was rapid, on account of the large NATO Kosovo Force logistical presence already in country and the fact that substantial preparations had been made over the course of the summer in anticipation of the Ohrid Agreement.[20] Operating under a limited disarmament mandate, 4,800 NATO troops were deployed. Liaison teams were set up with parties on both sides of the conflict at several different levels, as well as with involved international organizations. The troops were drawn largely from European countries, and the operation was thus similar to an ESDP operation under Berlin Plus arrangements.

Essential Harvest was followed by two smaller NATO missions. One was a longer-term operation called Amber Fox. It consisted of 700 new troops backed by 300 already there. Its official mandate was to assist in providing protection for international monitors in the country and to help oversee the implementation of the peace process. Germany took a lead role.[21] Its main value, as before, was to show continued Western support for the Ohrid process and for stability in general. The other, in December 2002, was a transitional operation called Allied Harmony.

On March 31, 2003—roughly two years after the crisis began—full responsibility for Macedonia was transferred from NATO to the EU's 400-strong Concordia mission. Concordia's mandate, like those of the NATO missions before it, was limited to monitoring and providing emergency protection for nonmilitary international actors; thus, Concordia was primarily a confidence-building and liaison mission.[22] As the EU's first military mission, it was an important test for the ESDP. The link with NATO was close. Concordia operated under Berlin Plus arrangements, which allowed for EU access to NATO planning and to

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[20] Tom Ripley, "Unfinished Business," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, October 17, 2001.

[21] NATO, "Operation Amber Fox," press release, No. (2001)133, Brussels, September 27, 2001.

[22] Ann Rogers and John Hill, "Europe Enters the Peacekeeping Game," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, September 1, 2003.

NATO operational facilities in neighboring Kosovo.[23] In accordance with Berlin Plus, a single chain of command was ensured, and Deputy SACEUR Admiral Rainer Feist was made mission commander and charged with operational planning and advising the EU Political and Security Committee. NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) became Concordia's operational headquarters.[24] NATO was also available as backup in the case of an emergency situation requiring, for example, the extraction of EU troops.

With the security situation stabilized, Concordia was replaced by an EU police mission, Proxima. This mission began on December 15, 2003, and lasted for two years. It worked primarily to support the rule of law through monitoring and advising the Macedonian police. NATO also helped train Macedonian security forces to prepare them for eventual NATO membership. The OSCE played a key role in initiating police reforms and retraining. The regional European Union Monitoring Mission carried out monitoring, and the U.S. Department of Justice's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program also helped train police in the immediate aftermath of the crisis. In 2005, Proxima personnel also contributed to police training.

Civil and Economic

Both the United States and the EU remained engaged on the political front, working to ensure that the Ohrid provisions were implemented. The prospect of membership in NATO, and especially in the EU, provided the international community with attractive carrots to dangle in front of the Macedonian government during the often-rocky postconflict period. The EU specifically made implementation of the Ohrid Agreement a precondition for progress on EU accession.

Annex C of the Ohrid Agreement identified UNHCR as the lead organization for refugee return, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. The

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[23] On Berlin Plus, see Robert E. Hunter, *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion—or Competitor?* Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MR-1463-NDRI/ RE, 2002.

[24] Council of the European Union Joint Action 2003/92/CFSP, on the European Union military operation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, January 27, 2003.

EU took responsibility for rebuilding heavily damaged housing, and several organizations, including UNHCR, helped rebuild housing in general. Reconstruction efforts were coordinated primarily through the High Level Steering Group for Southeast Europe, co-chaired by the World Bank and the EU. EU efforts were handled by the EAR, which also oversaw economic aid.[25] This agency targeted municipal development, transport assistance, institution-building, and vocational and educational training.[26] It worked by drawing up its program in consultation with the EUSR, the government, and the local EU states. The European Commission then approved the program, and the EAR tendered contracts for the projects and oversaw their implementation.[27]

Institutional reform and development in other areas was promoted by the OSCE, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and the EAR. In addition, the EU made substantial use of "twinning" programs to help improve the performance of state institutions. These training programs, which last one to two years, arrange for an exchange of officers from the bureaucracy of a member state with those from a country seeking membership.

What Happened

After the crisis, Macedonia remained stable. Ohrid's provisions passed into law, and the majority of these were also implemented in practice. There was a general normalization of Macedonian politics, though interethnic relations were sometimes difficult. Economic reforms progressed and the economy slowly improved. Some progress was made on strengthening the rule of law, but organized crime remained a problem. In some areas—the state administration and judiciary, for example—progress was slower. Above all, unemployment remained a major con-

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[25] European Agency for Reconstruction, *Annual Report 2001 for the European Parliament and the European Council*, Thessaloniki, Greece, April 19, 2002, p. 9.

[26] European Agency for Reconstruction (2002, pp. 29–30).

[27] Telephone interview with an EAR official in Skopje, April 11, 2007.

cern, and the unsettled question of Kosovo's final status created an atmosphere of regional uncertainty.

Security

NATO Operation Essential Harvest began on August 22, 2001, and lasted one month. NATO gathered weapons in three phases: from August 27 to 29, from September 7 to 12, and from September 23 to 26. In the end, the operation yielded some 3,875 arms. These included four tanks and armored personal carriers, 17 air-defense systems, 161 mortars and antitank weapons, 483 machine guns, and 3,210 assault rifles. This was, in fact, more than the rebels had originally agreed to surrender.[28] Some hard-line nationalists still claimed that the rebels were holding back most of their cache.[29] Though likely true, this complaint missed the point. The primary purpose of the disarmament operation was to build confidence in the agreement and ensure continued Western attention. Here, it was successful.

After Essential Harvest, a return to violence was still possible, given that most of the Ohrid framework still had to be passed by parliament. There was growing pressure for a continued NATO presence to support the peace process, and President Boris Trajkovski requested a follow-on NATO mission. The UNSC agreed.[30] NATO thus replaced Essential Harvest with a smaller operation called Amber Fox, which helped provide protection for international monitors and helped oversee the implementation of the peace process.

Responsibility for returning police to the crisis areas went primarily to the OSCE. In 2002 and 2003, police teams that reflected the ethnic composition of the crisis areas were trained and brought back to the areas by the OSCE under NATO protection. In practice, this meant

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[28] Statement by Brigadier Barney White-Spunner, in General Major Gunnar Lange and Brigadier Barney White-Spunner, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Regional Headquarters Allied Forces Southern Europe, briefing, Skopje, September 26, 2001.

[29] Prime Minister Ljubco Georgievski, for example, called the NATO effort "laughable." Jon Swain, James Clark, and Tom Walker, "Army Fears Slide to War in Macedonia," *Sunday Times*, August 26, 2001.

[30] UNSC Resolution 1371, concerning the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, September 26, 2001.

bringing in newly trained Albanian officers. Subsequently, multiethnic teams were deployed. To build confidence in the new police forces, citizens' advisory groups were established to meet regularly with the police, and community policing was introduced. Finally, the OSCE helped rehabilitate police stations and then began to disengage. Redeployment of police occurred simultaneously with training and new recruitment. Immediately after the crisis, the Macedonian national police academy was improved, and OSCE police instructors were deployed to it. At the same time, there was an active effort to recruit minority cadets. As a result, minority representation had increased from 3 percent before the crisis to 19 percent by 2005.[31]

Meanwhile, the military mission had evolved. By late 2002, the United States, reluctant to commit troops from the start, focused on Afghanistan and, increasingly, Iraq. Meanwhile, the EU was ready to test its nascent capacity to deploy and employ military forces. A transition from NATO to the EU was thus arranged. In December 2002, in anticipation of the handover, Amber Fox ended and was replaced by a transitional operation called Allied Harmony. On March 31, 2003, full responsibility was transferred to the EU's Concordia mission, though NATO retained an assistance mission for security-sector reform. Concordia field teams collected intelligence from several sources, supported the police retraining and integration efforts of the OSCE, monitored the Macedonian security forces, and liaised with the Macedonian government. Troops were not authorized to intervene in local conflicts, and Concordia was sometimes criticized for maintaining its distance when conflicts did break out. EU representatives insisted that the purpose of the mission, in contrast with missions in Bosnia and Kosovo, was to support the development of local capabilities, not to replace them.[32]

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[31] Email interview with an OSCE official, April 27, 2007. On police reform, see also Thorsten Stodiek, *The OSCE and the Creation of Multi-Ethnic Police Forces in the Balkans*, CORE Working Paper 14, Hamburg: Centre for OSCE Research, 2006, pp. 61–82; and ICG, *Macedonia: Wobbling Toward Europe*, Europe Briefing No. 41, Skopje and Brussels, January 12, 2006a.

[32] Luke Hill, "EU Shapes Macedonian Mission," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, February 5, 2003; Rogers and Hill (2003).

Aside from a few small advisory missions, foreign security forces were no longer present in Macedonia five years after the crisis.

As the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement progressed and confidence in the security situation increased further, Concordia was replaced by an EU police mission, Proxima. This mission began on December 15, 2003, and lasted for two years. It worked primarily to support the rule of law through monitoring and advice to the Macedonian police. European police were deployed to Macedonia's interior ministry and to local police stations around the country. Proxima was, in particular, tasked to support the fight against organized crime, the reform of the interior ministry, and the development of the police, confidence in the police, and regional police cooperation.[33]

Humanitarian

Refugee and IDP returns began before the Ohrid Agreement was signed, and UNHCR began its assistance to returnees on August 2.[34] Refugee returns continued, though questions about whether NATO troops would remain occasionally slowed return rates. As the school year approached, UNHCR saw a marked increase in the number of returnees. Steps toward implementing Ohrid also encouraged returns. By mid-September, there were still an estimated 33,000 refugees in Kosovo, however.[35] By mid-October, the number of refugees in Kosovo had fallen to under 25,000, and by mid-November it was 16,000. A year later, this figure had dropped to under 3,000.[36] Returns were facilitated by the establishment of a UNHCR bus service and growing confidence in the implementation of the Ohrid provisions. In March 2002, an amnesty law for insurgents and deserters was passed, further enabling refugee returns.

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[33] Council of the European Union Joint Action 2003/681/CFSP (2003); European Commission (2004b, p. 8).

[34] UNHCR, "FYR of Macedonia: Half of Aracinovo Residents Have Returned," UNHCR Briefing Notes, August 3, 2001a.

[35] UNHCR, "FYR of Macedonia: Dramatic Increase in Returns," UNHCR Briefing Notes, September 11, 2001b.

[36] UNHCR data.

Reconstruction was largely complete within a year. Estimates of the extent of the damage varied, but in general, physical damage was found to be less than some had originally believed. Immediately following the crisis, the EU established a rapid-reaction mechanism to assist in reconstruction. The mechanism focused on housing reconstruction, immediate needs for police reform, reconnecting power supplies, and demining. In November, UNHCR ended its housing support program, handing over remaining responsibility to the EU.[37] The OSCE also participated in these activities.

Civil Administration

Progress toward achieving a more equitable representation of minorities in the public service—an important part of the Ohrid framework—progressed slowly. The EU trained 900 minority civil servants for the state ministries, from entry-level to management positions. It worked to improve capacities at the local level as well. By 2007, minority representation was still only 15 percent, or roughly half the country's minority population percentage. Corruption remained a problem in spite of anticorruption campaigns. These were, in fact, sometimes used to justify politically motivated purges of the bureaucracy. Efforts to improve the rule of law also progressed slowly. In addition to corruption, organized crime remained a problem. The court system improved slowly at best, and war crimes remained an issue.[38]

Democratization

Evolution of the political situation was the key test of the country's stability and the success of the international effort. During the crisis, pressure from Solana led to the formation of a "government of national unity" that included all parties. In November 2001, this government ratified the Ohrid Agreement, amending the 1991 constitution. Under the Ohrid provisions, Albanian was made a second official language in areas where more than 20 percent of the population was Albanian,

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[37] UNHCR, "F.Y.R. of Macedonia: Shelter Assistance Programme Successfully Completed," UNHCR Briefing Notes, November 1, 2002.

[38] On the lack of progress on judicial reform and the war-crime issue, see ICG (2006a).

and Albanian members of parliament were permitted to use the language in debate. Equitable representation of minorities in the public sector was guaranteed. A double-majority system in the parliament was introduced so that Albanians could have veto power on certain issues, including culture, language, and the judiciary. This system, along with the thorny issue of decentralization, would pose problems in the future, however.

After reforming the constitution in November 2001, the grand coalition disbanded, yielding power to the Vnatresno-Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija (VMRO)–Albanian coalition that had led the country before the crisis. In 2002, however, this government was replaced by a coalition consisting of a new Albanian party led by the former rebel leader Ali Ahmeti and the social democrats. This alternation of power was widely viewed as a sign of the stability of Macedonian democracy. Not only did the elections take place without a return to violence, but the nationalists also accepted defeat without much resistance. Most importantly, perhaps, the rebel leader's participation in the new government was a promising sign of the willingness of the National Liberation Army to participate fully in the political process.

Progress continued over the course of the next year. In November 2002, an internationally monitored census was conducted to settle the controversial question of how big the Albanian population actually was. The results were announced in December 2003 without incident, despite the fact that they indicated a somewhat smaller Albanian population than some had claimed. Meanwhile, the controversial Albanian university in Tetovo was nationalized, improving educational access for Albanian minorities.

Trouble was brewing, however, over decentralization. In January 2002, the first in a series of decentralization laws was passed, devolving responsibility in several areas to municipal authorities. The government began to tackle a second series of laws in late 2003. From the start, negotiations over the law within the ruling coalition itself were laborious. Then, when the law was finally made public in July 2004, a larger controversy erupted. The number of municipalities had been reduced from 123 to 83, substantially increasing the number of Albanian-dominated districts and placing the Albanian population of Skopje at

more than 20 percent, a change that made Albanian an official language in the capital. When the law was passed in August, a new extreme nationalist party, backed by the larger VMRO, called a referendum to contest it. Polling was set for November. In the interim, a small group of Albanian rebels reappeared in the town of Kondovo, threatening to restart the war if the referendum passed.

The referendum on decentralization thus turned into a referendum on Ohrid as a whole. Many feared that it would pass. The United States and EU both worked to discredit the referendum publicly while pressuring the government to use a light touch with the purported rebirth of the insurgency in Kondovo. The EUSR, along with high-level European and U.S. officials, gave strident public warnings about the consequences of abandoning decentralization.[39] The United States was able to use the threat of placing certain key figures on the U.S. terrorist blacklist to coerce the rebels into agreement. The United States sent Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to the country to talk up Macedonia's token participation in Iraq. Most importantly, on the eve of the referendum, the United States recognized Macedonia by its new name, the Republic of Macedonia, thereby laying to rest the long-standing name issue and assuaging nationalist fears.

These measures—the name recognition, in particular—helped ensure the failure of the referendum. This failure was widely regarded as evidence of the country's enduring commitment to the Ohrid provisions, though it was unclear whether it would have failed without the international effort. Underlying tensions were apparent. In the aftermath of the referendum, one poll found that some 76 percent of the population still anticipated a return to conflict.[40] A second crisis arose two years later, in 2006, when the nationalist VMRO returned to power and chose to form a coalition with the smaller of the two

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[39] For example, Michael Sahlin, "Comment: Macedonia Referendum: Step Backwards on the Road to EU," London: Institute for War and Peace Reporting, October 1, 2004.

[40] International Commission on the Balkans, *The Balkans in Europe's Future*, Sophia, 2005, p. 26.

Albanian parties rather than the party that had a larger mandate.[41] The larger Albanian party responded by temporarily withdrawing from parliament, thereby paralyzing any progress on measures that required a double majority. After several months of negotiations, however, and a good deal of pressure from the EU and the United States, an agreement was reached and the party returned to parliament.

Six years after Ohrid, therefore, the political situation was still somewhat uncertain. On the international front, relations with Greece had improved, largely on account of the evolution of domestic Greek politics. Economic links between the two countries had also strengthened.[42] Further, long-standing disputes with Bulgaria had been resolved. Although elections themselves had not posed problems, many felt that the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement was uneven. Even in areas where Ohrid legislation had been passed and was being implemented de jure, sometimes there were problems in ensuring that the spirit of the laws was upheld.[43] Moreover, the coexistence of the country's two main ethnic groups still left much to be desired; to a certain extent, Ohrid itself had increased the distance between them.

Economic Reconstruction

The Macedonian economy had been in transition toward becoming a full-fledged market economy before the 2001 crisis. Most prices were market-driven, and progress toward privatizing state-owned firms was well under way. The currency was pegged to the euro, inflation was under control, and the government's fiscal balance was even in surplus. After the crisis, the government continued its success in maintaining monetary stability, and economic growth was quickly restored. Figure 4.2 tracks changes in Macedonia's GDP from 1995 to 2007.

Inflation was also quickly reduced, and the budget stabilized. The government had begun to run a fiscal deficit during the crisis,

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[41] On this point, see "Europe: Not So Fruity Salad; Macedonia and the European Union," *Economist*, October 21, 2006.

[42] F. Stephen Larrabee, "Greece's Balkan Policy in a New Strategic Era," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3, September 2005.

[43] Interview with an EU official, April 24, 2007.

Figure 4.2
Changes in Macedonia's Gross Domestic Product, 1995–2007
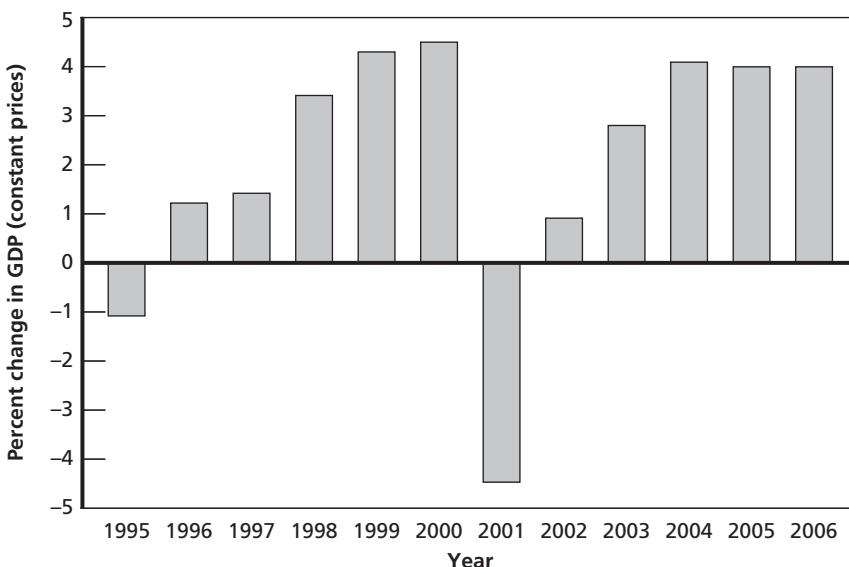
SOURCE: IMF, International Financial Statistics database.

as a result of both declining revenues and increased military spending. In 2001, the government deficit was 6.2 percent of GDP and fell only slightly to 5.9 percent in 2002.[44] As the fall elections approached, the deficit increased further, and the IMF suspended its program with Macedonia. After the elections, however, there was marked improvement. The new government cut public spending by reducing the size of the bureaucracy and consolidating control over government spending in general.[45] Cuts in state administration are noteworthy given that they made reform and ethnic rebalancing of the bureaucracy all the more difficult. At the same time, international aid was released after a new agreement with the IMF was reached in April 2003. The deficit then fell to 1.5 percent of GDP.

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[44] European Commission (2003b, p. 15).

[45] European Commission (2004b, p. 20).

Structural reforms and privatization also resumed after the crisis. After the 2002 sale of the Jugohrom firm, the largest industrial plant in Macedonia, progress on privatizing state firms moved forward in 2003, particularly with the completion of the 2000 action plan for the country's 40 large, loss-making state enterprises. Privatization of small- and medium-sized enterprises was largely completed.[46]

In spite of the return to growth, the basic economic situation remained problematic. The main challenge was continuing high unemployment. Joblessness had been very high before the crisis, but it increased further in the years following. Privatization no doubt played a role. Precise unemployment figures are unreliable for several reasons, mostly because Macedonia has a large gray economy. Nevertheless, it was clear that roughly one-third of the workforce was severely underutilized. Unemployment has sometimes been blamed on a lack of foreign direct investment. Despite progress on government reform, concerns about basic legal protections (including property rights and creditor rights) deterred foreign investors. Unit labor costs furthermore remained high because of very high payroll taxes. For these reasons and others, foreign direct investment remained around 2 percent of GDP per annum.[47] This is low for the region: Taking 2005 as a representative year, Bulgaria received $2.6 billion in foreign direct assistance, or 9.8 percent of its GDP, while Serbia received $1.5 billion, or 5.7 percent. The comparative total for Macedonia was a meager $99 million, or 1.7 percent of GDP.[48]

In spite of the efforts of the government and the international community, the lackluster economy contributed to ethnic grievances and ensured that politics remained volatile and political parties prone to populism. In choosing to pursue nation-building in Macedonia, the international community took on most of Macedonia's preexisting problems, whose resolution now became crucial to the success of the effort.

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[46] European Commission (2004b, p. 18).

[47] European Commission, *Analytical Report for the Opinion on the Application from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for EU Membership*, COM (2005) 562 final, Brussels, November 9, 2005, pp. 47–48.

[48] Calculated from World Bank, World Development Indicators Database.

Lessons Learned

Macedonia was granted status as a candidate country by the Council of the European Union in December 2005.[49] The EU application process can take several years, but once begun, it has never been reversed. Macedonia is correspondingly viewed as a major success story, both in the Balkans and for the European Union. Just prior to receiving candidate status, Macedonia was hailed as a "model for other parts of the Balkans" by the International Committee on the Balkans, a high-level study group otherwise critical of the EU's record there.[50] Arguably the best evidence of the success of the nation-building effort is the growing confidence of the public. In December 2001, 62 percent polled thought that the country was moving in the wrong direction. Five years later, that number had fallen to 31 percent.[51]

Macedonia was the first place to which European troops deployed under the EU flag. It was also the first instance in which Europe was represented at a political level by someone other than a rotating representative drawn from one of its national governments. Several lessons can be derived from this experience:

- The EU was able to deploy a very wide range of instruments, of which the military was not the most important, to influence developments in Macedonia. No other international entity has at its disposal such an array of assets.
- The EU proved able to integrate the efforts of many other actors, including NATO, OSCE, the World Bank, and the United States, into an effective international effort.
- The attractions of EU and NATO membership provided powerful incentives for ethnic reconciliation and political moderation.

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[49] Council of the European Union, Presidency Conclusions, 15914/1/05, rev. 1, December 15–16, 2005, §23-5.

[50] International Commission on the Balkans (2005, p. 37).

[51] ISI and USAID, "Macedonia 2007," public opinion survey, December 15–21, 2007.

The EU was able to employ the full panoply of techniques and institutional capacities for nation-building that had been developed over the preceding decade. In addition to its own assets, including economic aid, police, soldiers, and high-level political representation, the EU was able to draw on resources and influence provided by a number of other institutions and national governments, most notably NATO and the United States. The synergy achieved owes much to years of practice in Bosnia and Kosovo.

The quality of the EU leadership also deserves credit. Macedonia provided a test bed not just for the EU's nascent military capability but also for its equally new foreign and security policy machinery, under the then newly created High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy. Javier Solana was named to the position only weeks after the war in Kosovo came to a close, during which he had served as NATO's secretary general. By reason of both this experience and his resultant close ties to Washington, Solana proved ideally suited to oversee the transition from U.S. to European leadership and from NATO to EU peacekeeping in Macedonia.

Even more than in Bosnia or Kosovo, the lure of EU and NATO membership influenced the behavior of Macedonian elites and the broader populace for the better.

For all these reasons, the EU scored more than just a passing grade in the first test of its common foreign and security policy. The test was not exceptionally challenging, however, and the EU received considerable assistance from the United States, NATO, and a variety of other institutions. Future exams were likely to be tougher: The United States might be less engaged or less helpful; NATO might not be next door, ready to come to the rescue if needed; and the prospect of EU and NATO membership might not be on offer.

Côte d'Ivoire

On September 22, 2002, France launched Operation Licorne in Côte d'Ivoire as that country spiraled into war. The initial 600-strong French force was quickly augmented by French troops stationed elsewhere in West Africa. The operation's initial mandate focused on protecting and evacuating approximately 20,000 French nationals and other foreigners residing in the country. After the combatants, Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo and the Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI), signed a peace agreement in October 2002, the French mission expanded to enforcing a cease-fire.

The intervention was launched in response to an outbreak of violence that ended four decades of relative peace in Côte d'Ivoire. After the country gained independence in 1960, it maintained close cultural, economic, and military ties with France, and the two countries had a long-standing bilateral defense agreement. Large numbers of French citizens lived in Côte d'Ivoire, and French companies had invested heavily in the country, France being its principal trading partner. For most of the period following independence, Côte d'Ivoire was politically stable and experienced rapid rates of economic growth. Following the death of President Félix Houphouët-Boigny on December 7, 1993, politicians engaged in a protracted power struggle that culminated in a coup d'état in December 1999, led by General Robert Guéï. Over the next several years, political leaders struggled to control the country. Finally, in October 2001, President Gbagbo organized a forum for national reconciliation to address the issues that had polarized the warring factions: nationality, land ownership, the legitimacy of

Gbagbo's government, and the security forces. The forum culminated in a summit meeting on January 22 and 23, 2002, attended by key leaders and meant to settle their differences.

Unfortunately, not all the recommendations from the forum for national reconciliation were implemented. In late September 2002, 800 rebel soldiers attacked military installations in the capital, Abidjan. They also launched attacks in the second-largest city, Bouaké, and in the northern town of Korhogo, ostensibly to protest their planned demobilization early in 2003. Within days, France deployed troops. Figure 5.1 shows a map of Côte d'Ivoire.

Challenges

When French troops landed in Côte d'Ivoire in September 2002, they faced trained rebel forces that controlled more than half the country. Worsening economic conditions added to the political instability.

Security

The most acute challenge in Côte d'Ivoire was security. State security forces regularly killed political protestors; sexually abused, humiliated, and tortured detainees; and destroyed property. The primary targets were suspected supporters of political opponents, Muslims in the north, and foreigners. Hundreds of soldiers, who had been recruited under General Robert Guéï and were scheduled to be mobilized against their will, attacked camps and schools of the gendarmerie and police in major Ivorian cities, including Abidjan and Bouaké.

Initially, the MPCI was comprised primarily of Ivorian military personnel and thus was a relatively capable, well-armed rebel movement. Many of the MPCI's original 700 soldiers were part of the Ivorian army—the Forces Armées Nationales de Côte d'Ivoire (FANCI)—or former members of FANCI in exile in Burkina Faso. Many of the rebel leaders were young, noncommissioned officers who were leaders in the 1999 coup under General Guéï. The rebels had AK-47s and small arms left over from the Cold War era. As they seized parts of the north, they pillaged military barracks to augment their supply of weapons.

Figure 5.1
Map of Côte d'Ivoire

SOURCE: United Nations Cartographic Section, No. 4312, rev. 1, September
2007b. Used with permission.

RAND *MG722-5.1*

The MPCI was a highly structured organization, formed into compa-
nies and smaller units.

In the weeks between the start of the rebellion and the cease-
fire, the MPCI seized cities and towns in the northern and central

regions of Côte d'Ivoire, quickly gaining control over more than half the country. The MPCI established a joint head of operations in each principal city under its control. The joint commanders were highly disciplined and allegedly paid for purchases, reimbursed shop owners for damage, did not engage in looting, and did not target civilian populations. Because of this discipline, the MPCI enjoyed a modest level of popular support.

The security situation in Côte d'Ivoire was not solely an internal conflict but part of a regional conflict that had been developing since the 1980s. The government of Burkina Faso allowed Ivorian rebels to plan the revolt in its territory. The conflict in neighboring Liberia was linked to the Ivorian government, and combatants from Liberia and Sierra Leone were directly involved in the conflict.

Humanitarian

As the violence increased, tens of thousands of people fled from northern to southern Côte d'Ivoire or to neighboring countries. Some of those who fled were immigrants or refugees, who were often the target of the violence. Prior to the September 2002 uprising, approximately 72,000 Liberian refugees lived in Côte d'Ivoire.[1] The rebels burned the houses of these people and other immigrants. Thousands of Ivorians in war zones, such as Bouaké and Daloa, fled to the south. Up to 200,000 people were believed to have fled Bouaké between the September attacks and the October cease-fire.[2] Individuals who did not or could not flee found themselves in cities without functioning businesses or banks, without access to money, and with little in the way of food, medicine, or supplies. Two hospitals continued to operate, but no pharmacies remained open. The lack of food and medicine and the flight of medical professionals contributed to a dire health situation in areas of the north. The MPCI did allow international and Ivorian

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[1]   See, for example, Amnesty International, *No Escape: Liberian Refugees in Cote d'Ivoire*, London, June 24, 2002, p. 8.

[2]   See, for example, Global IDP Project, "Côte d'Ivoire: Thousands Uprooted in Worsening Ethnic Turmoil," ReliefWeb, December 1, 2002.

humanitarian organizations and the international press to operate in the areas they held.

Civil Administration

The central government remained in control of the southern half of the country. The flight of civil servants in the north left administration there in the hands of the MPCI; international and local NGOs also filled in where they could. Prior to the conflict, the Ivorian civil administration functioned better than most West African governments. It provided a number of public services, including in utilities, health care, and education. However, Laurent Gbagbo's administration often did not control the police or the army, which continued to violate human rights.

Democratization

The rebels' demands included democratic elections and constitutional revisions that would enable greater participation from the north.[3] Côte d'Ivoire had a history of elections, only some of which had been contested. The charismatic, generally popular Félix Houphouët-Boigny led the country for nearly three decades following independence. In most elections, Houphouët-Boigny ran unopposed or faced token opposition. The first election that was seriously contested took place in 1990, immediately following an economic downturn. He defeated Laurent Gbagbo with 80 percent of the vote.[4]

Côte d'Ivoire's stability and solid economic growth are often credited to Houphouët-Boigny's long rule. In particular, exports of cocoa and coffee rose during his tenure. The cocoa and coffee industries attracted large numbers of immigrants from neighboring countries, particularly Burkina Faso, Mali, and Guinea—countries with much lower per capita incomes. These immigrants have since come to

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[3] In particular, rebels wanted to repeal laws passed in 2000 that prohibited from becoming president those individuals who were not born in Côte d'Ivoire to parents who were also born in the country. Many of the individuals living in the north failed to meet the latter criterion.

[4] For more information on the 1990 elections and the history of the conflict, see ICG, "Conflict History: Côte d'Ivoire," undated.

account for more than one-quarter of Côte d'Ivoire's population. The economic downturn and resulting decrease in employment opportunities in urban areas fostered anti-immigrant sentiments as Ivorians returned to rural areas that were now being cultivated by immigrants. These economically driven ethnic tensions were at the heart of the political and military conflict in Côte d'Ivoire.

Economic Reconstruction

During this unstable period, economic growth slowed, and, in 2000, GDP fell 2.3 percent. Improved macroeconomic policies, greater use of markets, and a resumption of foreign aid contributed to a very modest, 1-percent increase in GDP in 2001.[5] The September 2002 crisis triggered a new recession in Côte d'Ivoire and the region more broadly. GDP fell 3 percent between 2002 and 2003. The decline in output rippled throughout West Africa, reducing trade, transportation, and investment, because Côte d'Ivoire was the cornerstone of the regional economy, constituting about 40 percent of the West African Economic and Monetary Union's GDP. Neighboring countries (Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, and Guinea) depended heavily on its transport facilities for imports and exports and on remittances sent home by migrant workers.[6]

The European and International Roles

The initial mandate of Operation Licorne was solely to protect French and other foreign citizens in the country.[7] The EU focused on supporting the efforts of France, the ECOWAS, the African Union (AU), and the UN. Outside France, EU members did not perceive an immedi-

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[5]   African Development Bank and OECD, "Côte d'Ivoire," in *African Economic Outlook 2003/2004*, Paris, 2004, p. 107.

[6]   World Bank, "Country Brief: Côte d'Ivoire," updated September 2007b.

[7]   Under a long-standing bilateral defense agreement, France had maintained a permanent military presence in Côte d'Ivoire. Under this agreement, France is to intervene directly if Côte d'Ivoire is attacked by a foreign force.

ate strategic interest in Côte d'Ivoire. Because of this lack of inter-
est and because France and ECOWAS both responded quickly, the
EU did not consider fielding an EU-led operation. The EU did play
a supporting role monitoring the situation and issuing statements of
support for ECOWAS and UN activities. EU leaders participated in
the Conference of Heads of State on Côte d'Ivoire in January 2003.
Representatives from both the Council of the European Union and
the European Commission served on the monitoring committee
of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. They visited Côte d'Ivoire to assess
the situation. On December 17, 2003, the European Parliament called
on Ivorian parties to implement the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and
recommended extending the mandate of ECOWAS, as well as rein-
forcing the peacekeeping force. It also called on France to conduct a
provisional assessment of the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis
Agreement.

Military and Police

As the conflict evolved, so did the composition and mandates of the
intervening force. After France launched Operation Licorne with the
French 43rd Marine Infantry Battalion on September 22, the operation
was quickly augmented with troops that had been stationed in Chad,
Djibouti, Gabon, and Senegal, including two companies of paratroop-
ers from the 1st Marine Infantry Parachute Regiment stationed in
Gabon. After a cease-fire was signed in October 2002, the mission of
French forces expanded to enforcing the cease-fire. The force then grew
to approximately 4,000 troops consisting of three joint battle groups in
Abidjan, Bouaké, and Man that were augmented by two mobile gen-
darmerie squadrons. Operation Licorne also controlled a 100-strong air
detachment based in Lomé, Togo, which was occasionally supported
by a ship from the French Navy deployed to the Gulf of Guinea.[8]

In January 2003, the 1,500-member ECOWAS peacekeeping
force arrived. Five countries contributed troops—Senegal, Ghana,

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[8] For more information and a chronology of Operation Licorne, see Etat Major des Armées,
"Côte d'Ivoire: Chronologie et des Repères Historiques" ["Côte d'Ivoire: Historical Chro-
nology"], French Ministry of Defense, August 29, 2007.

Benin, Togo, and Niger. ECOWAS and Operation Licorne forces worked side by side. The United Nations eventually established a peace-keeping mission in April 2004, and ECOWAS forces became part of the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI); Operation Licorne supported UNOCI and served as a rapid-reaction force. UNOCI's activities expanded beyond upholding the cease-fire and promoting security to include

- overseeing DDR
- reforming the security sector
- monitoring an arms embargo
- protecting UN officials, institutions, and civilians
- facilitating the restoration of law and order.

UNOCI initially consisted of approximately 6,000 military personnel, including 200 military observers. However, at first, the force failed to stop the fighting. UNOCI grew to 7,090 military personnel by June 2005 and to approximately 8,000 by February 2007. The primary countries that contributed troops included Bangladesh, Benin, Ghana, Jordan, Niger, Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal, and Togo. France contributed 200 troops to UNOCI, including 26 military liaison officers. UNOCI had a central headquarters in Abidjan, as well as headquarters in Bouaké and Daloa, covering the eastern and western parts of the country, respectively.

UNOCI initially included a civilian police unit of 350 police officers. In June 2005, the UNSC approved an expansion of the civilian police mission to 725 police officers, including three formed police units. In June 2006, the UNSC upped the force another 425 police. By February 2007, more than 1,000 UN police officers were in Côte d'Ivoire. They were tasked with reestablishing a police presence throughout the country; assisting in security-sector reform, the DDR process, and enforcing the arms embargo; and providing technical expertise and training to local forces.

As UNOCI's activities expanded, so did Operation Licorne's mandate. The mandate eventually included the following:

- contributing to general security
- intervening at the request of UNOCI to support its forces
- intervening against belligerent actors in consultation with UNOCI
- protecting civilians
- assisting in monitoring the arms embargo
- contributing to security-sector reform.

Civil and Economic

Several international actors worked to achieve a political solution to the Ivorian crisis: ECOWAS organized a contact group and negotiated a peace settlement at the beginning of the conflict, France negotiated the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement in January 2003, and South African President Thabo Mbeki served as a mediator at the request of the AU in 2005.

Prior to establishing a peacekeeping mission, the United Nations established a political mission—the UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI) —to facilitate implementing the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. Initially, MINUCI consisted of 26 military liaison officers with authorization for up to 50 additional officers, as needed, and a small civilian staff. By February 2004, MINUCI had expanded to 75 military observers supported by 54 international civilian personnel and 55 Ivorian civilians. UNOCI's civil and economic mandate included

- registering voters
- facilitating humanitarian assistance by providing security and access for NGOs
- supporting redeployment of Ivorian civil servants throughout the country
- providing technical assistance, logistical support, and security for elections
- promoting and protecting human rights
- promoting the peace process through public information dissemination.

To accomplish these objectives, UNOCI was originally staffed with 435 international civilians, 529 local civilians, and 119 UN volunteers. As the conflict continued, UNOCI's international civilians were replaced by UN volunteers for a civilian force of 371 international personnel, 524 local staff, and 228 UN volunteers as of February 2007. UNOCI's civil element was divided into sections responsible for political affairs, elections, DDR, human rights, rule of law, civil affairs, child protection, gender, and HIV/AIDS.[9]

The UN Office for the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs coordinated humanitarian efforts by organizations involved in Côte d'Ivoire, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Children's Fund, UNHCR, World Food Programme, World Health Organization, and numerous NGOs. The World Bank, IMF, African Development Bank, and European Union worked closely on economic reconstruction, and activities were coordinated by an ad hoc special crisis committee of donors and external partners chaired by the World Bank.

What Happened

Security

The international participants adapted their objectives in Côte d'Ivoire to changes in the security environment, which went through four distinct stages.

Stage 1: October 2002–December 2002. Only weeks after the September 2002 uprising, a formal cease-fire agreement was signed. However, relations within Côte d'Ivoire remained tense and the outlook for peace was bleak. The mission's primary security objective was to enforce the cease-fire. During this stage, Operation Licorne was the only foreign military actor with a presence in Côte d'Ivoire; its forces created a buffer zone between the government-controlled south and

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[9]   For more information on UNOCI, see United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire," Web page, 2007.

the rebel-controlled north. It maintained a military headquarters near Abidjan to protect foreign nationals.[10] The buffer zone blocked further advances by the rebel groups, preventing them from seizing Abidjan.

During this "cease-fire," both sides strengthened their military forces by recruiting additional soldiers and adding weapons. The MPCI added fighters from soldiers who had been purged by the Ivorian military because they were thought to be close to Guéï or sympathetic to the rebels and from Liberian fighters who had previously fought for Charles Taylor, the former president of Liberia. Gbagbo did not trust the FANCI forces, so he hired mercenaries from France, South Africa, and Eastern Europe. These mercenaries attacked Vavoua on November 27—the day on which French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin visited Abidjan—and Man, one of the three headquarters of Operation Licorne, on December 1. Gbagbo also recruited 3,000 additional young men into the army in December 2002.

With support from the French and the AU, ECOWAS organized peace talks between the insurgents and Gbagbo. These were chaired by Togolese President Gnassingbé Eyadéma and held in Lomé, beginning on October 28. The Ivorian government immediately agreed to two of MPCI's demands: amnesty for exiled soldiers and suspension of the demobilization process. However, the talks stalled on the political agenda. MPCI leaders Guillaume Soro and Louis Dacoury-Tabley wanted political reforms and insisted that Gbagbo resign.

On November 28, 2002, two new rebel groups, the Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien de Grand Ouest (MPIGO) and the Mouvement Pour la Justice et la Paix (MJP), formed south of the cease-fire line. The MPCI supported both these groups, though MJP was linked more closely to the MPCI than was MPIGO. The MPCI used these groups to target the cocoa belt, thereby reducing Gbagbo's tax revenues and making it more difficult for him to finance the war. These groups had not signed the cease-fire, and they attacked western towns and villages. The new insurgents sought revenge for General Guéï's death in the September uprisings and also demanded that Gbagbo resign. Operation Licorne forces prevented the insurgents in the west from reach-

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[10] On September 25, 2002, U.S. special forces evacuated U.S. nationals from Bouaké.

ing San Pedro, the main port for exporting cocoa and coffee. Unlike the disciplined MPCI forces, these rebel groups attacked civilians and indulged in widespread violence. The Ivorian rebel leaders were unable to control the Liberian and Sierra Leonean fighters, and the behavior of these rebel forces damaged the reputation for good behavior that the rebel leaders had been cultivating.[11]

Both the government and the rebels accused the French of supporting the other side. French forces faced a number of protests. For example, on October 22, Licorne troops used grenades and tear gas to disperse a crowd of demonstrators outside the French military bases.

Stage 2: January 2003–May 2003. During the second stage of the conflict, regional and international forces became increasingly active in Côte d'Ivoire. The role of the French forces shifted to supporting the efforts of other forces. The initial cease-fire collapsed when the two new rebel forces began to attack in the west; all Ivorian parties renewed the conflict. During this stage, France played the central role in trying to mediate a political solution. It also continued to be engaged militarily alongside the ECOWAS force. On January 3 and 4, 2003, French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin met with the government and rebel groups in Côte d'Ivoire and secured their commitment to attend a roundtable discussion in France. This visit was followed by attacks on French peacekeepers in Duékoué, a town in western Côte d'Ivoire. ECOWAS, led by the Togolese president, pushed for a new cease-fire between the insurgents in the west and the Ivorian government. A cease-fire was signed in Lomé on January 13, 2006. This paved the way for the broader peace process hosted by the French between January 15 and 24.

At the end of the late January conference, the parties signed the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. The agreement created a new government of national reconciliation that shared power between the existing government leadership and the rebels. French and ECOWAS forces were called upon to support the National Reconciliation Government and to continue to try to provide security throughout the country. The

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[11] ICG, *Tackling Liberia: The Eye of the Regional Storm*, Africa Report No. 62, Freetown and Brussels, April 30, 2003a.

agreement did not immediately reduce the violence, however. Supporters of the Gbagbo regime turned against the French, as they felt that France had pressured the Gbagbo regime to bow to the wishes of the rebels. The conference itself elevated the status of the rebel groups. Pro-Gbagbo groups argued that key decisions were not legitimate because they were made behind closed doors. These decisions included the choices for prime minister, minister of defense, and minister of the interior.[12] Gbagbo mobilized youth loyal to the government to protest the French intervention in Côte d'Ivoire. These youth damaged French official buildings, schools, businesses, and some private residences and attacked white motorists. More than 8,000 French citizens evacuated Côte d'Ivoire during the protests. The rise in anti-French sentiments deepened France's desire to shift the onus for providing security and running the operation to a multinational group.[13] The conference did have some positive effects as well. After the agreement, the Ivorian rebels expelled Liberian and Sierra Leonean insurgents from Man in an effort to reduce violence and implement the peace agreement.

After the agreement was signed, the UNSC authorized a six-month mission for ECOWAS and French forces to promote stability in Côte d'Ivoire.[14] The mission had a Chapter VII mandate under the UN Charter. On February 4, the UNSC established a monitoring committee to oversee the implementation of the peace accords. Limited resources and internal rivalries in ECOWAS delayed the deployment of the peacekeeping force; it had been scheduled to deploy at the end of December. On January 18, the first 172 of the more than 1,200 planned ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MICECI) soldiers arrived. To compensate for the small number of ECOWAS troops, more French forces were added to Operation Licorne in February and throughout the spring. By July 2003, the French force totaled 4,000 troops. It was not until March 6, 2003, that another 1,100

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[12] United States Institute of Peace, "Linas-Marcoussis Peace Agreement," Peace Agreements Digital Collection, February 14, 2003.

[13] Human Rights Watch, *Country on a Precipice: The Precarious State of Human Rights and Civilian Protection in Côte d'Ivoire*, Vol. 17. No. 6(A), New York, May 2005.

[14] UNSC Resolution 1464, on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, February 4, 2003.

ECOWAS troops arrived. ECOWAS officially took over responsibility for enforcing the cease-fire line in April.

April was a violent month in Côte d'Ivoire. The two sides waged intense battles for control of the road between Toulépleu and Danané—a main transportation route, where forces loyal to Gbagbo fought Ivorian and foreign rebels. The Ivorian government made repeated helicopter attacks against the rebels but stopped them under considerable international pressure. Eventually, the Ivorian rebel groups disentangled themselves from the Liberian and Sierra Leonean fighters. On April 26, ECOWAS organized a meeting between Taylor and Gbagbo, both of whom promised to secure the border. A complete cease-fire was signed by all Ivorian parties on May 3, 2003, and on May 13, the UNSC authorized the MINUCI to facilitate the implementation of the accords. The western part of the country continued to be subject to fighting and attacks on civilians. The French and MICECI forces focused their efforts on securing this area. The MCPI—which changed its name to Forces Nouvelles de Côte d'Ivoire in February—worked with the French, MICECI, and government forces to set up a demilitarized zone in the west.

Stage 3: June 2003–October 2004. In the third stage of the Ivorian conflict, the security situation improved to some degree. In June, the government and the rebels agreed to move forces back from the cease-fire line and to exchange prisoners. MINUCI arrived on June 27, 2003, and plans began for a comprehensive DDR program. The military chiefs of the Ivorian army and rebel forces announced that the war was over, and rebels handed a rifle to President Gbagbo as a symbol of their readiness to disarm on July 4.

Although the security situation had improved greatly, it remained tenuous. Stability depended on continued political agreements. Negotiations advanced in August, when the government released 54 political prisoners accused of supporting the rebels and gave amnesty to the northern rebels. However, on September 13, President Gbagbo appointed his own nominees to the ministries of defense and interior, violating the peace accords and angering the rebels. UN Special Envoy Albert Tevoedjre ignored the rebels' objections. In protest, the Forces Nouvelles pulled out of the government and withdrew its nine minis-

ters. On September 24, approximately 100 people attacked the Central Bank of West African States in Bouaké. With assistance from the First Affirmative Financial Network, Operation Licorne forces halted the attack and restored order in Bouaké. The Ivorian government accused the French of supporting the rebels in a drive to overthrow the president. These political conflicts led to large protests in Abidjan in early October; the government responded by banning all public marches and demonstrations for three months on October 17, 2003. West African leaders met with Gbagbo—including a meeting in Abidjan with the Nigerian and Ghanaian presidents and a larger meeting in Accra, Ghana's capital—in November to discuss ways to save the faltering peace process. These meetings made little progress in breaking the political stalemate.

On February 27, 2004, UNSC Resolution 1528 authorized the deployment of UNOCI forces in April, consisting of approximately 6,000 blue helmets.[15] The resolution also redefined the mandate of Operation Licorne. With the creation of UNOCI, Operation Licorne became more closely tied to the United Nations. Its mandate was changed to support the objectives of UNOCI and to serve as a rapid-reaction force. However, Operation Licorne did not fall under the authority of UNOCI; it retained the right to act independently.

Violence continued in the spring and early summer of 2004. On March 24 and 25, more than 100 civilians were killed while protesting the Gbagbo government and the lack of progress in implementing the peace accords. There were also several clashes between the French and Ivorians. On June 7, rebel elements claiming to be part of Forces Nouvelles attacked French and FANCI military posts. A FANCI soldier killed a French soldier on June 25. Operation Licorne representatives and the French ambassador protested to President Gbagbo. At the end of July, under pressure from France, the AU, and the UN, a new agreement was reached in Accra that committed the Ivorian government to start disarming the Forces Nouvelles by October. Gbagbo also promised to adopt previously agreed-to reforms concerning the ownership of land, definitions of nationality, and the eligibility of presidential candi-

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[15] UNSC Resolution 1528, on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, February 27, 2004.

dates. These conditions were not met by October. The rebels refused to disarm and the conflict continued.

Stage 4: November 2004–December 2006. The next stage of the Ivorian crisis began in November 2004 and was marked by increased tensions between the Ivorians and the French. Throughout November, security deteriorated in the combat areas, and both sides brought more troops closer to the cease-fire line. On November 6, FANCI forces attacked Bouaké, killing nine Operation Licorne soldiers and a U.S. aid worker. On orders from French President Jacques Chirac, Operation Licorne destroyed the newly created Ivorian air force. High-level Ivorian government officials and militia leaders responded by using the state-owned media to incite progovernment militias to attack French citizens. The French attack and the Ivorian state media broadcasts provoked anti-French protests. Foreign businesses were looted, and French and other foreign citizens were attacked. Operation Licorne forces opened fire on the protestors, injuring and killing demonstrators. According to Amnesty International, senior members of Ivorian security forces accused the French of firing directly at the unarmed crowd without warning, killing 57 civilians and injuring more than 2,000. Independent sources assert that French troops fired from helicopters and used grenades.[16]

Operation Licorne forces—reinforced by land, air, and naval assets in Africa and France—returned to Abidjan to protect French and foreign nationals and facilitate civilian evacuations. Although the government of Côte d'Ivoire and other state and nonstate actors questioned whether France's response was proportionate, the UNSC expressed "full support" for Operation Licorne's actions. At this time, French forces were primarily in Abidjan or securing the port of San Pedro. While there was renewed violence in Gagnoa, Operation Licorne forces did not redeploy to this area. The French government said that UNOCI forces in the confidence zone should respond to the crisis.

In the aftermath of these clashes, France pushed for the UNSC to take stronger action against Côte d'Ivoire. On November 15, the

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[16] For more information, see Amnesty International, *Clashes Between Peacekeeping Forces and Civilians: Lessons for the Future*, September 19, 2006.

UNSC passed Resolution 1572, which called for an arms embargo, a travel ban, and economic restrictions on individuals who posed a threat to the peace and reconciliation process, measures that were pushed by the French government.[17] In response, President Gbagbo accused the French of supporting Ivorian rebels to secure their economic interests in Côte d'Ivoire.

UNSC Resolution 1572 also authorized UNOCI to uphold and enforce the embargo and for Operation Licorne to provide security assistance to UNOCI in carrying out this mission. Between December 30, 2004, and January 3, 2005, Licorne forces in Man responded to a request by UNOCI to provide security for the region. The Licorne forces successfully restored order in this part of the confidence zone and confiscated a number of weapons in the process. On March 21, 2005, Licorne and UNOCI implemented common procedures to implement the embargo. Following the 2005 Pretoria peace negotiations, some heavy weapons were withdrawn from the front line. This was followed by the Yamoussoukro Agreement in May 2005, which established a framework for security-sector reform and a schedule for DDR.

The level of violence slowly subsided, and Licorne and UNOCI turned their attention to DDR and security-sector reform. However, steps to implement these tasks were repeatedly stalled due to the lack of progress on political reforms. The situation remained volatile, and UNOCI and Licorne forces focused on improving security. French forces provided support to UNOCI, which was the lead security force in Côte d'Ivoire. For example, in January 2006, when demonstrators surrounded UNOCI headquarters in Abidjan, Douekoue and Guiglo, Licorne troops were transported via helicopter to disperse the crowds and provide transportation for trapped UNOCI personnel.

In support of AU and ECOWAS efforts to find a political solution, the United Nations emphasized the role of the interim prime minister in implementing security-sector reforms and DDR. UNSC Resolution 1633 reaffirmed these roles for the prime minister as laid out in the

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[17] UNSC Resolution 1572, on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, November 15, 2004.

Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. Operation Licorne was tasked to assist the prime minister in these activities by UNSC Resolution 1726.[18]

This stage of the conflict was marked by several controversies involving Operation Licorne. As noted previously, France destroyed the nascent Ivorian air force in response to the November attacks on Bouaké that resulted in the deaths of French troops. General Henri Poncet, force commander of Licorne from May 2004 to June 2005, was suspended by the French minister of defense for allegedly covering up the May 2005 death of an Ivorian detainee.[19] In January 2006, President Gbagbo's political party called for a withdrawal of UN and French forces. The party incited attacks on UNOCI by youth loyal to the government, who called UNOCI an "occupying force."

Humanitarian

The conflict displaced approximately 400,000 people. Although most Ivorians remained in the country, approximately 60,000 fled to Liberia by January 2003. Teachers and health care workers left their jobs for fear of the violence, resulting in the closure of schools and clinics. The combatants destroyed public buildings, including schools and hospitals, and infrastructure in large parts of the north and west of the country. However, because Côte d'Ivoire was more developed than most of the rest of western Africa and because its civil administration had functioned more effectively, civil servants and employees of NGOs were able to cope with humanitarian problems. The World Food Programme, the World Health Organization, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and NGOs provided food, medical services, and shelter.[20] In the north, the MPCI permitted international and local NGOs to provide humanitarian services in rebel-controlled areas, allowing for a minimal level of social services, such as health and education, and even tried to provide some of these services itself.

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[18] UNSC Resolution 1633, on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, October 21, 2005; UNSC Resolution 1726, on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, December 15, 2006.

[19] "French Suspend General Over Death," BBC News, October 17, 2005.

[20] UN OCHA, "Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire," Situation Report No. 3, February 11, 2003a.

Both government and rebel forces attacked civilians. Government forces, in particular, attacked immigrants, Muslims, and refugees living in Côte d'Ivoire. The government announced that it would destroy all shantytowns near Abidjan because they allegedly supported and supplied the rebels with materiel and forces. This campaign destroyed thousands of homes and displaced thousands of poor individuals. The MPCI attacked rebel forces in the north, even when they were not engaged in combat or in uniform.[21]

The UN secretary-general's humanitarian envoy for the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, Carolyn McAskie, arrived in January 2003 to review the humanitarian situation. She met with President Gbagbo and expressed her concerns over the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, particularly the attacks on civilians.[22] The UN played a lead role in assessing and addressing humanitarian needs in the first stage of the conflict. During this initial stage, French forces' efforts to stabilize insecure areas facilitated the humanitarian response.

Although the number of IDPs and refugees increased after 2003, the rate of increase slowed significantly. This allowed UNOCI to address other humanitarian concerns, such as child protection, gender, and HIV/AIDS.

The French forces' security efforts continued to facilitate the humanitarian and development activities of the UN, the government of Côte d'Ivoire, and NGOs. In January 2004, a small group of French peacekeepers reached cities in the rebel-held north. They provided security to the agencies engaged in providing humanitarian assistance in this region. In May 2006, UNOCI worked with the Ivorian security forces to organize security for students taking high school completion exams. Licorne forces were responsible for ensuring that examination centers were secure in several towns, including Bouaké, Man, Korogho, Odienne, Facobly, Botro, Biankouma, and Danané.[23]

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[21] Human Rights Watch, *Country on a Precipice: The Precarious State of Human Rights and Civilian Protection in Côte d'Ivoire*, Vol. 17, No. 6(A), New York, May 2005.

[22] United Nations Office for the Coordinator of Humanitarian Assistance (2003a).

[23] Etat Major des Armées, "Licorne: Soutien des Examens en Zone Nord" ["Licorne: Support for Exams in the North"], brief, French Ministry of Defense, March 2006a.

Operation Licorne forces were able to enter lawless areas in advance of agencies providing humanitarian relief. They also provided these agencies with useful information. For example, Operation Licorne reported that there were people living in such areas as the state-protected forest of Scio. Once informed of this state of affairs, the humanitarian community conducted its own assessment of these areas.

As the security situation stabilized, Operation Licorne forces became more directly involved in providing humanitarian assistance. French forces rehabilitated schools, health facilities, and other public buildings in the north. Licorne also assisted with the construction of a number of health, water, and infrastructure projects. In the first four months of 2006, Operation Licorne was engaged in more than 100 health, education, and community-building projects. For example, on April 21, Licorne troops completed the installation of a water pump for the 5,000 inhabitants of Mangouin. In Man, a Licorne unit worked with a local organization and community members to build a dam. Operation Licorne coordinated its activities, to some degree, with agencies engaged in providing humanitarian assistance, and members participated in discussions about the fundamental rights of vulnerable populations and how their activities could complement other actors' efforts to provide humanitarian assistance.[24]

Civil Administration

Throughout the conflict, the national government maintained control over the southern part of the country. However, the civil administration in rebel-controlled areas in the north and west ceased to exist. In the first stage of the conflict, the MPCI worked with international and local actors to provide at least a minimal level of government services, including education and health services, in the north.

The Linas-Marcoussis Agreement called for a government of national reconciliation, tasked with strengthening the independence of the justice system, restoring civil administration and public services, and rebuilding the country. These activities were hindered by disputes

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[24] Etat Major des Armées, "Les Actions Civilo-Militaires en Côte d'Ivoire" ["Civil-Military Activities in Côte d'Ivoire"], brief, French Ministry of Defense, April 21, 2006b.

over the appointment of key ministers and were rarely executed effectively. President Gbagbo refused to accept the choice of a compromise prime minister and appointed his preferred candidate instead. Not until the final stage of the conflict, in December 2005, did a candidate acceptable to the rebel groups become prime minister: Charles Konan Banny. In his first few months as prime minister, Banny made some progress in restoring government services, such as organizing school exams in rebel-controlled parts of the country.

In later stages of the conflict, UNOCI facilitated the return of 6,000 civil servants to the north and west, the first step toward the return of the rest of the 23,000 who fled the area in the initial stage of the conflict. UNOCI also implemented quick-impact projects in deprived areas to improve the quality of life and create conditions favorable for sustainable peace. Operation Licorne's role in this area was limited to assisting the prime minister, focusing specifically on security-sector reform.[25]

Democratization

In the first stage of the conflict, the French focused on security. But the early peace agreements failed to find a political solution to the Ivorian conflict. Not until the second stage of the conflict did issues surrounding elections and reforming the political system begin to be addressed.

The Linas-Marcoussis Agreement was negotiated in France. The agreement called for the creation of a new government of national reconciliation that would share power between the leadership of the existing government and the rebels. The agreement addressed many of the issues concerning national identity and citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire: It stipulated that the criteria for determining who is eligible to run for president be changed, that rural land laws be revised, and that resident cards be reissued, and it established procedures for naturalizing the offspring of immigrants born in Côte d'Ivoire prior to 1972. It also called for naming an interim prime minister and the establishment

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[25] United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire, "Côte d'Ivoire: UNOCI Transports Civil Senior Servants to the North," press release, August 1, 2006.

of a government of national reconciliation that would stay in place until national elections were held in 2005.[26] Key negotiations over the appointment of the prime minister and the ministers of defense and interior were held behind closed doors between President Gbagbo and MPCI representative Guillaume Soro. These negotiations became a source of contention and contributed to riots and attacks on French troops. ECOWAS chairman, Ghanain President John Kufuor, brought Ivorian government leaders and rebels to Accra to negotiate a new solution for nominating ministers. They reached an agreement to create a national security council, comprised of 15 members from all parties to the peace accords, to name ministers by consensus.

The Ivorian government failed to implement many of the political reforms to which it had agreed in the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. In particular, Gbagbo appointed his preferred prime minister rather than allowing the council to do so. He refused to alter the existing requirements concerning place of birth for the presidency. He stalled on implementing other changes concerning citizenship and holding land.

The African Union became increasingly involved in political reform and democratization. It appointed South African President Thabo Mbeki to act as a mediator. Mbeki invited Ivorians to Pretoria for talks on March 17, but Gbagbo refused to attend. Eventually, the parties met and hammered out the Pretoria Agreement on the Peace Process in Côte d'Ivoire. This agreement made some progress possible on disarmament and planning for security-sector reform. The Pretoria Agreement was a limited success: The Ivorian government failed to change the restrictive nationality laws before the October 2005 presidential elections, and the rebels refused to lay down their arms until the law was changed. Due to this impasse, elections were not held in October 2005, and Gbagbo served another 12 months under a special resolution.

Eventually, the AU stepped in to resolve these political disputes. Under AU auspices, Mbeki, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, and Niger's President Mamadou Tanja selected Charles Konan Banny

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[26] United States Institute of Peace (2003).

as interim prime minister. In his first few months in office, Banny succeeded in installing an independent electoral commission and reinitiating negotiations on disarmament. He failed to tackle the challenging issues of Ivorian citizenship and voter registration, however, which was why Côte d'Ivoire was unable to hold presidential elections in October 2005. For the same reasons, the October 2006 elections were postponed until 2007.

Finally, on March 4, 2007, President Gbagbo and Guillaume Soro signed a peace agreement. Soro, leader of the Forces Nouvelles, was appointed prime minister. This agreement may represent a turning point in the Ivorian conflict. France has drawn down some of its troops as the country has stabilized. However, peace remains tenuous.[27]

The UN monitoring committee, established in February 2003, has overseen the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and other efforts to end the conflict. Headed by Albert Tevoedjre, the monitoring committee included representatives from the AU, ECOWAS, the EU, the Group of Eight, the International Organization of Francophone Countries, the IMF, MICECI, Operation Licorne, and the World Bank.

The monitoring committee was very effective. It lacked a clear mandate, was not cohesive, and lacked the ability to make and implement decisions. As the conflict continued, it was reduced to the role of an observer. Further, throughout the conflict, the Ivorian government failed to implement measures to which it had agreed. Rebel forces responded with continued violence, refusing to participate in elections or fulfill their side of the bargain.

Operation Licorne's mandate did not include support and participation in restoring the civil administration or assisting in holding elections. However, French forces played a key role in enforcing the cease-fire and promoting security. Without the cessation of violence and improvements in security, those parts of Linas-Marcoussis and subsequent agreements concerning government and elections would not have been implemented. Operation Licorne forces did provide security for events that

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[27] ICG, *Côte d'Ivoire: Can the Ouagadougou Agreement Bring Peace?* Africa Report No. 127, Dakar and Brussels, June 27, 2007b.

promoted the freedom of speech and other democratic principles. For example, Licorne troops assisted UNOCI and government troops in providing security for a peaceful memorial service held on April 2005 for the more than 100 demonstrators who were killed by Ivorian security forces during an antigovernment protest in March 2004.

Economic Reconstruction

Côte d'Ivoire's economy was hit with a one-two punch when world market prices for cocoa and coffee fell sharply just as the conflict broke out. The decline in revenues from key cash crops exacerbated the conflict. Investment was hit hard both by the loss in investor confidence because of the violence and by the government's diversion of revenues from public investment to purchasing arms and paying the military to defeat the rebels. The combination of lower export revenues and a drop in public investment caused a sharp decline in living standards throughout the country.

The conflict also served to block exports and increase transport costs as the fighting cut existing transport routes. Rebel and government forces set up roadblocks throughout the country, slowing transport and increasing costs. Rebel control of cocoa-producing areas and cocoa revenues reduced their desire to end the conflict, since they benefited from control of this industry. The MCPI financed its activities by exporting cocoa through Guinea throughout the later stages of the conflict.

The instability and insecurity in the country led to a loss of foreign investment, closure of foreign businesses, loss of jobs, and increased production and transportation costs. The violence led to a mass exodus of migrant workers, which contributed to a decline in cocoa production. The economic decline was further exacerbated by the departure of French nationals at various stages of the conflict. The conflict exacerbated already high levels of poverty. Over the course of the conflict, Côte d'Ivoire dropped from 154 to 164 on the UNDP's Human Development Index.[28]

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[28] IRIN, "Republic of Côte d'Ivoire: Humanitarian Country Profile," UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Web page, last updated February 2007.

Assistance to help economic recovery was coordinated under the framework of an ad hoc special crisis committee of donors and external partners led by the World Bank. The committee used its leverage to push the Ivorian government to implement previous commitments. When the DDR process went off track and the Ivorian government failed to service its loans, the World Bank and the IMF responded by halting the disbursement of all loans. The World Bank provided technical assistance to help build the capacity of the government. It also financed programs for community-driven development and employment-creation for youth.

Operation Licorne did not have a mandate to directly support economic reconstruction. However, the French force's efforts to provide security and stabilize the country were key to economic recovery. The ability of Licorne forces to reach remote areas in the north facilitated trade; Licorne troops secured the main trade routes by securing the northern towns of Korhogo and Ferkessedougou.

Lessons Learned

French, ECOWAS, and UN efforts in Côte d'Ivoire limited the scope of civil war and helped protect the civilian population. The French were very quick to deploy an initial force. Nevertheless, these UN and French operations were less successful than most of the other cases covered in this volume. This relative lack of success probably stems from the following causes:

- inadequate resources
- divided command
- local resentment of what was perceived as a French postcolonial presence.

In terms of both numbers of military personnel and economic resources, the international effort in Côte d'Ivoire fell well below the norm for a peacekeeping mission in the midst of an ongoing conflict and even further from the levels normally needed for the sort of peace-

enforcement role that the French occasionally sought to play. Of the seven operations reviewed in this volume, only that in the Congo had lower international military personnel–to–population ratio, and only Sierra Leone had a lower level of per capita economic assistance. Indeed, among all 22 cases spanning more than 60 years covered in the three volumes of this study, the operation in Côte d'Ivoire scores among the lowest in both categories.

Operation Licorne illustrates the problems of coordination when a nationally led intervention seeks to operate alongside an international peacekeeping force. Throughout the conflict, Operation Licorne contributed to the ability of ECOWAS and UN forces to implement their mandates. However, there was also a degree of friction between the two forces, generating inefficiencies in the nation-building efforts. The French priorities were not always aligned with those of the UN. During the November 2004 hostilities, for instance, the French forces did not act as the UN's rapid-response capability but, rather, focused on protecting French citizens.

In this respect, it is interesting to contrast the French role in Côte d'Ivoire with the British role in Sierra Leone. The UK had not maintained a military presence in Sierra Leone postindependence, as France had in Côte d'Ivoire and other former colonies. Both interventions were originally intended to protect British and French citizens, respectively, and both countries insisted on keeping their forces under national command. Beyond that, however, the British military effort was short, sharp, and exclusively directed at bolstering the UN mission, whereas the French presence has been continuous and not entirely directed at strengthening the UN peacekeeping effort.

The fact that French forces were deployed in large numbers under national command, in pursuit, at least in part, of French national interests distinct from those of the international community as a whole made their presence more controversial. France was frequently accused of partiality by both sides. These accusations hindered the success of the operation and resulted in targeted attacks on its forces and French citizens. They also reduced support for Licorne's activities. The general distrust of the French forces and allegations of ulterior motives hindered the ability of Licorne to fulfill its mandate.

The UK intervention in Sierra Leone, like the two EU expeditions into the Congo, fell pretty clearly into the post–Cold War nation-building paradigm, which rather convincingly emphasizes the temporary and altruistic purposes of a foreign military presence. This was more difficult for France to do in Côte d'Ivoire because of its large resident population and economic investment there and because of its long-term military presence in the region.

Peace operations in Côte d'Ivoire thus represent a post-1989 nation-building operation superimposed on an older, postcolonial presence. The fact that neither the UN nor French mission was adequately resourced was likely the main reason for the relatively poor results. The controversial nature of the French military presence among the local population and the occasional friction between the two international forces also contributed to the difficulties encountered, suggesting that this marriage of UN-led nation-building and French-led postcolonialism was not a happy one.

These considerations suggest that the longer such divided command of international peace operations lasts, the more likely is it to become counterproductive. While only a unilateral response to the outbreak of conflict in Côte d'Ivoire could have produced such a rapid deployment, the international effort probably would have been strengthened over the long run had France subsequently subsumed its contingent into a UN force, thereby both simplifying command arrangements and reducing the appearance that France was pursuing a separate, nationally oriented mission.

Democratic Republic of the Congo

In June 2003, the Council of the European Union launched a military operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The operation, Artemis, was conducted in accordance with UNSC Resolution 1484, and the Council of the European Union's Joint Action adopted, on June 5, 2003.[1] Artemis aimed at stabilizing the security situation and improving the humanitarian conditions in the town of Bunia in the northeastern Ituri region. More broadly, the EU, in cooperation with the UN and other international actors, committed itself to working to build a functioning state in the DRC.[2]

The EU involvement in Congo came in the wake of decades of intermittent civil war. The most recent was a brutal conflict that began in 1997 and lasted for five years. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright described the conflict as "Africa's first world war."[3] The conflict was both international and domestic in nature. It was rooted in ethnic and political conflicts, as well as economic blight and a struggle for control of the country's valuable natural resources. In the first stage of the war, the long-time dictator Mobutu Sese Seko was overthrown by Laurent Kabila, who renamed Zaire *the Democratic Republic*

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[1]   UNSC Resolution 1484, on the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo, May 3, 2003; Council of the European Union Joint Action 2003/423/CFSP, on the European Union military operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, June 5, 2003.

[2]   Also known as Congo Kinshasa.

[3]   UNSC, 4,092nd meeting minutes, concerning the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, S/PV.4092, New York, January 24, 2000, p. 4.

of the Congo. Soon thereafter, several neighboring countries invaded. Although there were numerous local conflicts and widespread fighting among several factions, the central conflict was between the DRC and its eastern Rwandan and Ugandan neighbors. Rwanda justified its occupation of parts of the DRC's natural resource–rich east on the grounds that Kabila had permitted the Forces Démocratiques de la Libération du Rwanda (FDLR), a rebel group, to operate there against Rwanda.

A peace agreement was finally reached in 2002, following the death of Laurent Kabila and his son Joseph's assumption to power.[4] The Sun City, South Africa, peace accords provided for the demobilization of the Congolese army, the Forces Armées de la Républic Démocratique du Congo (FARDC); the integration of its rival factions; the establishment of a constitutional government; and the holding of democratic elections. In subsequent peace agreements in Pretoria and in Luanda, Angola, the Rwandan and Ugandan troops agreed to withdraw and stop supporting their rebel factions in the DRC.

As the Rwandan and Ugandan troops began to withdraw in 2003, fighting began anew in Ituri. More than 400 people were killed, and 75,000 more fled.[5] Renewed fighting threatened to overturn the peace just as a transitional government was being formed. MONUC forces were unable to provide stability; many observers feared another massacre like that in Srebrenica in Bosnia. After an appeal for relief from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the European Union agreed to send in troops to relieve the failing MONUC mission and protect the peace agreement.

Figure 6.1 shows the DRC and its surrounding region.

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[4]   UN involvement was incremental. UNSC Resolution 1279, on the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo, November 30, 1999, established the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) and increased the authorized number of UN personnel from fewer than 100 to 500. UNSC Resolution 1291, on the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo, February 24, 2000, raised the number to 5,537.

[5]   Henri Boshoff, "Overview of MONUC's Military Strategy and Concept of Operations," in Mark Malan and João Gomes Porto, eds., *Challenges of Peace Implementation: The UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2004, pp. 140–141.

Figure 6.1
Map of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
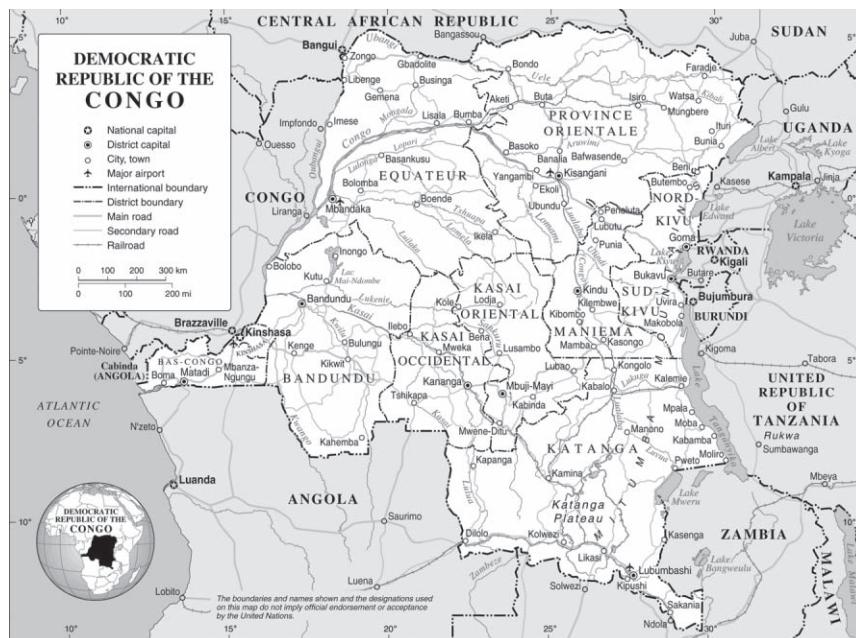
SOURCE: United Nations Cartographic Section, No. 4007, rev. 8, January 2004a. Used
with permission.
RAND *MG722-6.1*

Challenges

The challenges to nation-building in the DRC were extraordinary,
rooted both in recent experience and in the country's more distant
past. For several years, the DRC experienced a multifactional civil war
that embroiled all its neighbors in fighting on its soil; an estimated
4 million people died.[6] The use of child soldiers was widespread, reports

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[6] This figure is based on an estimate of mortality rates in the DRC as compared to other
countries in the region and thus includes more than those killed directly by the fighting. See
Richard Brennan and Anna Husarska, "Inside Congo, an Unspeakable Toll," *Washington
Post*, July 16, 2006.

of gang rape were commonplace, and the economy was broken. Many of the challenges were legacies of the country's troubled past. Belgian colonial rule, which ended in 1960, left the country with a low level of economic and social development.[7] The problems of colonial rule were compounded during the country's first three decades of independence, when it was ruled by the dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, who looted the treasury and did little to improve the lot of the country's citizens.[8] With the end of the Cold War, Mobutu's grip on power began to weaken, and, in 1997, Zaire collapsed into war again.

Security

A major challenge was organizing a rapid response to the immediate crisis of May 2003 to avoid a collapse of the peace process. Operating in the remote Ituri region posed substantial logistical challenges. Beyond this immediate problem, there were numerous larger challenges to establishing security. First, there was the threat of invasion from neighboring countries. The Kabila regime's ties to the Interahamwe rebels persistently complicated the DRC's relations with its neighbors to the east. As long as FDLR and other anti-Rwandan groups continued to operate in the eastern DRC, the threat of invasion from Rwanda and Uganda to counter their activities remained.

Second, there was a need to cope with the instability created by the various militias operating in the country, but especially in the east. Most of these militias had agreed to lay down their arms as part of the peace. Not all of them, however, had done so, and there were frequent splits among them over whether to continue the civil war. One of the largest threats was posed by former Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) commander General Laurent Nkunda, who continued to carry on the war in the Kivus border region. Fighting among the militias

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[7]   For a recent account of Belgian rule of the DRC, see Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

[8]   On the previous UN intervention in the Congo, see Dobbins, Jones, et al. (2005, pp. 5–27). For a depiction of Zaire under Mobutu, see Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo*, New York: HarperCollins, 2001.

was a political security problem, since most militias were aligned with members of the transitional government, and their clashes created tensions in the capital.

Third, the peace accords called for rebuilding the army, but the DRC had never had an effective army to rebuild. Under Mobutu, the security forces' primary mission was to protect presidential power, not to provide security to the civilian population. The national army was in poor shape. It was incapable of defending the country from internal or external threats. Unpaid soldiers frequently terrorized the civilian population. They went unpaid, in part, because there was no money in the treasury and no roster of individuals entitled to a paycheck. No one knew how many soldiers there were.[9] Graft was an enormous problem.[10] A new army would have to be constructed from factions that had been at war with each other for a decade.

Fourth, maintaining security meant creating an integrated national police and building effective local police forces. Although the UN estimated that there were as many as 70,000–80,000 police officers in the DRC, it described their condition as "in dire need of material, financial and technical assistance."[11] Under Mobutu, the police forces had been frequently reorganized and lacked a coherent structure. During the civil war, they were largely overtaken and replaced by the militias, who took justice into their own hands.[12] The weak

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[9] ICG, *Security Sector Reform in the Congo*, Africa Report No. 104, Nairobi and Brussels, February 13, 2006b.

[10] UNDP, for example, reported that, beyond the problem of getting soldiers paid, "More profoundly . . . the tendency to benefit from positions of power is a reflection of the erosion of moral and civic values during the Mobutu period and during the years of conflict" (Carrol Faubert, *Case Study: Democratic Republic of the Congo: Evaluation of UNDP Assistance to Conflict-Affected Countries*, United Nations Development Programme, Evaluation Office, 2006, p. 11).

[11] UNSC, "Thirteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2003/211, February 21, 2003a, para. 28. On the number of police, see UNSC, "Third Special Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2004/650, August 16, 2004b, para. 24.

[12] For a brief history of the Congolese police, see ICG, *Security Sector Reform in the Congo*, Africa Report No. 104, Nairobi and Brussels, February 13, 2006b, pp. 4–5.

Congolese state was unable to prevent lawlessness. Most of the society was beset by violent crime, even without the threat posed by the militias or FARDC. In sum, the challenges to establishing and maintaining a stable security environment over such a huge, impoverished, and unsettled area were immense, despite the fact that a peace agreement was already in place.

Humanitarian

By the time that the 2002 accords had been signed, the combination of Mobutu's malign rule, the subsequent civil war, and the broader instability of the Great Lakes region had created a humanitarian crisis of historic proportions. The DRC was the site of extremely serious human-rights violations, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.[13] Government security forces and the various militias operating around the country routinely killed, raped, tortured, kidnapped, and beat citizens; practiced extortion; and committed other crimes.[14] Mass murder and ritualized cannibalism were reported on more than one occasion. There was widespread use of child soldiers and children in various other roles by the militias, often as porters, servants, and sex slaves. Conditions in the cholera-ridden prisons were life-threatening.[15]

Years of violence had generated a massive refugee crisis, and more than 3 million people had been displaced by the war.[16] In early 2003, the UN Inter-Agency Appeal estimated that there were 2.7 million IDPs, a figure that was growing.[17] Large numbers of Congolese had also fled abroad. At the same time, waves of refugees from neighbor-

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[13]   Some of which have been tried by Congolese courts, others by the International Criminal Court. See Nikki Tait, "UN War Crimes Trials May Be Off to Timid Start," FT.com, November 6, 2006.

[14]   U.S. Department of State, "Congo, Democratic Republic of the," country report on human rights, March 31, 2003.

[15]   UNHCR, *Global Report 2003*, Geneva, 2003, p. 132.

[16]   UNHCR (2003, p. 132).

[17]   UN OCHA, "UN Inter-Agency Mission Visits DR Congo to Look into Internal Displacement Challenges," press release, February 21, 2003b. See also UN OCHA, "Affected Populations in the Great Lakes Region," July 2002.

ing countries had entered the DRC. In addition to displaced Congolese, there were 440,000 refugees and asylum-seekers in the country by the end of 2003, the majority of whom had fled Angola, Sudan, Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi.[18] One-third of the Congolese refugees also had critical food needs.[19] Providing emergency relief on this scale required substantial funding and coordination. The ongoing violence meant that security for relief organizations and for refugee camps was needed. Most importantly, relief efforts were seriously complicated by a lack of transportation infrastructure, warehouses, and medical facilities. Many of those suffering were in remote areas that could not be reached without great difficulty, so there was also an urgent need to build critical infrastructure.[20]

Civil Administration

Congolese state institutions were weak: The military, police, administrative offices, and legal branches all needed substantial reform and reconstruction if the country was to be self-governing. State administration often competed with the parallel power structures of the militias and those of more ancient provenance. The state was unable to provide even the most basic services in many areas. This lack of existing institutions further complicated rebuilding, as many rudimentary tasks had to be performed by the international community. In general, a state that had existed almost entirely for its *rulers* had to be transformed into a state that worked for the sake of its *citizens*. Many state institutions would have to be created or reconstructed. One of the first would have to be the state budgetary and financial system so that the rest of the government could get paid and operate.

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[18] UNHCR (2003); U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, "Congo-Kinshasa," Country Update, *World Refugee Survey*, Washington, D.C., 2004.

[19] Oxfam estimate for 2001 (Oxfam International, *No End in Sight: The Human Tragedy of the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo*, August 2001, p. 3).

[20] UNHCR (2003, p. 132).

Democratization

The promise of democratic elections was central to the 2002 peace agreement. In the absence of sufficient international will or resources for a peace-enforcement mission in such a large country, a consensus approach was necessary. The promise of power-sharing and eventual elections was crucial to achieving a cease-fire among the various parties to the conflict. The obstacles to democratization, and even the development of a constitutional government, were significant. The Congolese had no prior experience with liberal democracy and little experience with anything even vaguely resembling self-determined, constitutional rule. The legitimacy of existing political and economic institutions had been eroded by decades of dictatorship. The difference between the political parties and the criminal gangs was often blurry. There was almost no middle class on which liberal democratic institutions might be built. Civil society was weak or nonexistent, and corruption was rampant.

Since the country's borders were a creation of the European "scramble for Africa," there was no prior national entity to which citizens owed allegiance. It is sometimes said that one of the few benefits of the Mobutu era was the creation of a nascent Zairian identity, but this identity appears to have been weak, at best, judging by the extent to which rivalries had torn the country apart in recent years. Instead of a Congolese nation, there existed a conglomeration of different groups spread out over an undeveloped region roughly the size of Western Europe. The traditional homes of many of these groups overlapped the DRC's borders. The FDLR was just one example: There were no obvious leaders who might help the country to overcome these problems by inspiring the citizens to shift their allegiances from ethnic groups to the nation. The extractive nature of the economy was not conducive to democratization.[21] On top of these socioeconomic and cultural

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[21] Many have argued that an economy based on extractive industries is ill suited to the development of liberal democracy because it frees the state from the need to collect taxes from the middle class and, hence, from the need to offer civil and political rights. The theory is debatable and perhaps based too closely on the experience of the French Ancien Regime, whose profligate spending on defending its empire forced Louis XVI to call on the Estates General, thereby setting in motion the first phase of the French Revolution.

factors, the country's enormous size and lack of infrastructure posed significant practical and logistical problems for the conduct of voter registration and balloting.

Economic

The DRC was one of the poorest countries in the world. Per capita GDP was always low and had experienced a downward trend since the early 1990s. In 2000, the DRC's ranking on the UNDP's Human Development Index was 152nd out of 174.[22] Severe poverty persisted despite vast natural-resource wealth—wealth that fueled the very conflict that made economic development impossible. Most of the country was reduced to subsistence living.[23] The macroeconomic environment in the late 1990s was highly unstable. Mobutu had ended his rule with hyperinflation, which reached 23,000 percent in 1994. During the brief peace in 1998, inflation fell to 23 percent but surged again to 550 percent in 2001.[24] In 2000, the DRC had external debts of close to $12 billion, and GDP was a meager $4.3 billion.[25] Most of the nation's wealth came from extractive industries. The DRC had highly valuable deposits of diamonds, gold, cobalt, coltan (a metal ore), and copper. Groups fought bitterly for control of these deposits.

The DRC's infrastructure, health, and educational systems were dilapidated or nonexistent. There were an estimated 20,000 telephones in the country in 2000, a total of 30 kilometers of expressway, and only a few hundred miles of paved roads. Roughly 5 percent of the adult population was HIV-positive in 1999. Male life expectancy was 47 years.[26] At this level of underdevelopment, humanitarian and economic issues closely overlap. Before the economy could grow, the conflict had to end and inflation needed to be brought under control. Eventually,

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[22] UNDP, *Human Development Report 2000*, New York, 2000.

[23] World Bank, *Transitional Support Strategy for the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, No. 27751, Washington, D.C., January 26, 2004, p. 5.

[24] IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, September 2006c.

[25] World Bank, World Development Indicators Database.

[26] CIA, *The World Factbook 2003*, Washington, D.C., 2003.

the country would need to establish a rudimentary legal system that would permit a market economy to grow. Infrastructure would need to be built and the endemic corruption within the government bureaucracies and the army reduced. For macroeconomic stabilization to take hold, state finances would also have to be reformed, a task that, in turn, required the creation of an effective tax administration. Thus, many of the same challenges faced in reforming and rebuilding the administration of the state were necessary to lay the foundation for economic development.

The European and International Roles

The EU and UN were the two major participants in the nation-building process in the DRC. Between 2003 and 2006, the UN's MONUC operation became the largest UN operation in the world, while the EU conducted two of its most ambitious military interventions to date. The EU and the UN worked together, but the UN played the lead role. It committed the most troops for the longest time and increasingly acted as a facilitator and coordinator of the efforts of other international actors. The European role was nevertheless substantial, both in relation to European interventions elsewhere and in relation to the roles played by other actors in the DRC, including the United States, whose main role was to provide financing for one-quarter of the MONUC budget.

Military and Police

The EU and UN took the lead on security issues. The UN provided basic security, and the EU supplemented that effort at two key points. The first was the 2003 intervention in Ituri. That intervention was sparked by the deterioration of the security situation, which threatened the UN forces in the town of Bunia. On May 15, 2003, Secretary-General Kofi Annan sent a letter to the UNSC requesting an interim

emergency multinational force (IEMF) to be led by a member state.[27] On May 30, UNSC Resolution 1484 opened the door to a temporary intervention under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to relieve the MONUC mission. The force was authorized to stabilize the security situation, contribute to humanitarian relief, help protect IDPs in the Bunia camps, and generally protect the civilian population. It was also specifically authorized to protect the airport, which was the only means of transport to and from Bunia.[28]

The IEMF, Artemis, was promoted and ultimately led by France, which was eager for a European show of strength and unity in the wake of the divisive clash over the war in Iraq. France organized an EU joint action under the ESDP. The Council of the European Union announced the action on June 5, designating France the "framework nation."[29] This arrangement allows the EU to draw on the command-and-control facilities of a member state and, as such, was an alternative to the EU's Berlin Plus arrangement with NATO, under which the latter organization would provide many of these assets. In this case, it meant that, while the mission would be run from the French armed forces' Centre de Planification et de Conduite des Opérations in Paris, it would remain under the political control of the Council of the European Union's Political and Security Committee in Brussels. The council thus maintained authority over the operational plan, the rules of engagement, and chain-of-command decisions. The EU's HR, Javier Solana, acted as the primary liaison with the IEMF, the UN, the transitional government in the DRC, and other regional powers. Operation commander Bruno Neveux gave priority to direct contact with the UN in the DRC and New York to coordinate actions, especially concerning the eventual transition from the IEMF to the UN, while force com-

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[27] For Annan's request, see UNSC, "Letter Dated 23 May 2003 from the Secretary-General Addressed to the President of the Security Council (DRC)," S/2003/574, May 23, 2003b.

[28] UNSC Resolution 1484 (2003).

[29] European Commission, *Bulletin of the European Union*, 6-2003, June 2003c, point 1.6.134, "Council Joint Action 2003/423/CFSP on the European Union Military Operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo." The concept of a framework nation was introduced at the WEU Council of Ministers on May 13, 1997, and endorsed on July 24, 2002.

mander Jean-Paul Thonier maintained direct contact with MONUC.[30] Notably, less attention was given to intra-EU efforts. Commission-directed development work in Bunia, for example, was not coordinated with the Artemis operation.[31] This was a missed opportunity.

As the framework nation, France bore the bulk of the burden. It provided the first troops, the greatest number of troops, the intelligence, and the operational headquarters. In 2003, the EU had not yet introduced a mechanism for common financing of operations and was still acting entirely on the basis of the principle that costs should lie where they fall. France thus also bore the brunt of the financial burden.[32] Common costs, outside of French costs, were estimated at only €7 million.[33]

The Artemis operation began on June 10 with the arrival of 50 French soldiers in Bunia.[34] Other countries joined soon thereafter, and the force eventually grew to 1,850 soldiers.[35] The French, who ran the

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[30] Neveux's comments at the 51st plenary session of the WEU Assembly in December 2005; Stale Ulriksen, Catriona Gourlay, and Catriona Mace, "Operation Artemis: The Shape of Things to Come?" *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Autumn 2004.

[31] Neveux noted that a swifter aid response to support the Ituri interim administration would have helped during his mission. Bruno Neveux, "Vers une Union Opérationnelle? Artemis" ["Toward an Operational Union? Artemis"], *Défense Nationale*, May 2004. See also Ulriksen, Gourlay, and Mace (2004, p. 515).

[32] One source puts the cost of the operation at a somewhat dubious €1.65 billion. See French National Assembly, 12th Legislature, Avis présenté au nom de la commission de la défense nationale et des forces armées, sur le projet de loi de finances rectificative pour 2003 par M. Marc Joulaud [Opinion presented in the name of the national defense commission and the armed forces on the finance bill for 2003 by Mr. Marc Joulaud], no. 1267, December 2, 2003b; French National Assembly, 12th Legislature, Avis présenté au nom de la commission de la défense nationale et des forces armées, sur le projet de loi de finances pour 2004 (no. 1093) Tome I Affaires Etrangères par M. François Lamy [Opinion presented in the name of the national defense commission and the armed forces on the finance bill for 2004 (no. 1039), Volume I, Foreign Affairs, by Mr. François Lamy], no. 1114, October 9, 2003a.

[33] Council of the European Union Joint Action 2003/423/CFSP (2003, article 11.3).

[34] An advance team had arrived to secure the airport on June 6 ("L'opération Artémis à Bunia" ["Operation Artemis in Bunia"], Agence France-Presse, August 29, 2003).

[35] According to Agence France-Presse ("L'opération Artémis à Bunia" ["Operation Artemis in Bunia"], 2003). Figures differ on precise troop levels. Two thousand troops were involved, of whom 1,700 were French, according to the French Delegation to the EU Political and

operation, provided roughly half this total. Logistical support was provided by Canadian and Belgian forces in Entebbe, Uganda.[36] Troops were also provided by the UK, Belgium, Sweden, and Canada. Officers from other European countries provided support from Paris. Brazil, Canada, and South Africa participated as well. Although most personnel were French, the operational language was English.[37] Given that European politicians have emphasized that Artemis was conducted without the support of the United States, it is important to note that the operation was nevertheless not entirely European. Not only was Canada involved, but the EU hired two Antonov-124 planes from Ukraine to transport troops and supplies to the region, underlining the problem with Europe's shortage of strategic lift capabilities.[38]

The UN's role was bolstered with a new Chapter VII mandate for MONUC, sometimes dubbed "MONUC II." This markedly changed both the character and the scope of the international involvement, especially in the east, where many of the new UN troops were deployed. According to the July 2003 resolution, MONUC troop size would be increased to 10,800, and the force would now operate under Chapter VII.[39] The number of troops was later increased by 5,900 in October 2004.[40] In addition to helping secure the east, the new forces

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Security Committee, *Brief Guide to European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)*, December 2005, p. 32. According to Miskel and Norton, the total troop size was 1,500, of which 900 were French (James F. Miskel and Richard J. Norton, "The Intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Winter 2003, p. 8).

[36] Miskel and Norton (2003, pp. 7–8).

[37] Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave, 2007, p. 114.

[38] It has been noted that EU aircraft, such as the Hercules C-130 and C-160, might have been used but were not because this would have slowed down a mission in which the developing crisis made rapid deployment a high priority. See Assembly of the West European Union, *Peacekeeping in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Practical Approach*, Document A/1913, December 6, 2005, para. 84.

[39] UNSC Resolution 1493, on the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo, July 28, 2003.

[40] UNSC Resolution 1565, on the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo, October 1, 2004.

were authorized to protect UN personnel and facilities, as well as civilian and humanitarian workers, and to contribute to civilian security more broadly. In addition, they were encouraged to assist with security-sector reform, reconstruction of civil administration, elections, and policing.[41]

If the EU and UN were primarily responsible for security provision, a number of other actors were involved in security-sector reform. These efforts addressed the interlocking challenges of reintegrating the national army and combatant DDR more generally. In the case of foreign combatants, repatriation and resettlement were also necessary in addition to DDR. The latter operations were conducted largely through MONUC, while a variety of international organizations contributed to DDR. For the most part, these efforts were conducted with the financial support of the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP). This program, which encompasses several countries in the Great Lakes region, was funded by numerous donors and managed by the World Bank. The World Bank has, in addition, directly funded DDR. Working closely with the World Bank, UNDP had primary responsibility for organizing DDR efforts. The International Labour Organization, United Nations Children's Fund, World Food Programme, and individual donors, including the EU, were also involved. The Congolese committee in charge of DDR operations was the Commission Nationale de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion (CONADER). MONUC largely handled disarmament, while the World Bank, UNDP, and CONADER worked on demobilization and reintegration. The EU contributed directly to DDR efforts and to security-sector reform more broadly through grants and through the European Union Security-Sector Reform Mission (EUSEC).

Police operations were carried out by MONUC, which operated a small constabulary force, mostly in Kinshasa, but the force grew incrementally over time. MONUC, assisted by an EU operation (Kinshasa, under the ESDP) and the efforts of several European and African powers, also participated in training Congolese police. These efforts especially focused on training for election support. Finally, as the 2006

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[41] UNSC Resolution 1493 (2003).

elections approached, the EU was again called upon to provide direct security support. Thus was born by its second major operation, European Military Operation (EUFOR) DRC, which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Civil and Economic

MONUC and the EU's ESDP military operations aimed at establishing a stable security environment. In addition to these efforts, the European Commission, UN, IMF, World Bank, United States, and several European countries acting on a bilateral basis also worked to bolster longer-term stability and development. No fewer than 18 UN agencies operated in the country, and as did countless NGOs. MONUC participated in several areas beyond security provision, including assisting in rebuilding basic administrative institutions.

Humanitarian relief was coordinated through UNHCR. The European Union supported economic reconstruction in cooperation with the World Bank, the IMF, the African Development Bank, and other bilateral donors. On the whole, EU assistance was much smaller in scale than were the efforts of the World Bank and IMF, but it was still substantial.[42] EU support came from both the European Commission and, notably, ESDP funds. Coordination between the Council of the European Union and European Commission directorates general in this area was not without its difficulties.[43] EU contributions were provided alongside bilateral aid programs of EU member states. Contributions from Belgium, France, the United Kingdom, the United

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[42] European aid to the DRC falls largely under the rubric of broader EU foreign-aid schemes aimed at Asian, Pacific, and Caribbean countries and that have been shaped significantly by the need for assistance to the DRC. Funds come from four main sources: (1) the EU's European Development Funds, which are contributed by member states through the EU's budget and distributed by the European Commission; (2) the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy funds (though this contribution is rather small); (3) member-state development-assistance programs; and (4) the European Commission's own funds.

[43] For a discussion, see Nora Bensahel, "Organizing for Nation-Building," unpublished RAND research, March 2007, pp. 22ff.

States, and China were notable. In 2007, China signed an $8.5 billion deal to help rebuild Congolese infrastructure.[44]

On the political side, an international committee was established as part of the 2002 peace accords to advise and assist the transitional government through the elections. It was composed of foreign representatives to the DRC and the Great Lakes region and was chaired by the UN special representative. In addition, a number of joint committees were eventually established to assist with the coordination of key issues of concern to the international community. These committees included members of the transitional government, MONUC, and diplomatic representatives from major donors.

At first, there was very little coordination among the various actors involved in humanitarian and development work, despite World Bank–sponsored coordination meetings.[45] States were apt to pursue their own agendas and preferences, especially before 2005. The coordination of the Council of the European Union and the European Commission, whose responsibilities abut humanitarian and other issues, took place through the participation of European Commission representatives in the weekly meetings of the Political and Security Committee. The coordination of actors on the ground in Kinshasa, for example, between the European Commission and EU police forces also played a role.

What Happened

Between 2003 and 2007, MONUC and the EU managed to achieve and maintain general, though not consistent, progress toward stability in the volatile eastern regions of the country. The humanitarian situation improved somewhat. National elections, postponed at first, were eventually held in 2006 without major conflict. Meanwhile, a foundation for future economic growth was laid. Security remained a problem throughout the period, however, and state institutions developed

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[44] Ben Laurence, "Mining Firms Face Congo Crackdown," *Sunday Times*, October 21, 2007.

[45] World Bank (2004, p. 15).

slowly. Several obstacles, both financial and political, were encountered along the way. Despite improvements, the humanitarian problem remained serious, and economic growth was threatened by general lawlessness and the persistence of some rebel fighting in the east. Five years after the Sun City agreement, the democratic roots of the country remained shallow.

Security

Between 2003, when the peace process appeared to be breaking down, and 2006, when national elections were held, the security situation in the DRC gradually improved. Progress was incremental, however. Key factors contributing to the improvement included the Artemis mission, increased numbers of troops under MONUC, the Chapter VII mandate, the implementation of a national disarmament program, the reintegration and reform of the Congolese army, and the EU's second mission. The slow pace of army reform and reintegration was a persistent problem. Meanwhile, the national police were strengthened, and security-sector reform was implemented to alleviate pressing problems, such as graft within the army. The EU contributed to security-sector and police reform with two separate advisory missions. In general, given the international community's cooperative approach to nation-building, obtaining the cooperation of the transitional government was often the key to progress.

Artemis, the first and more significant of Europe's two interventions, began in June 2003. The first and main task was to end the violence in Bunia. The cease-fire there was being disrupted by at least six armed factions struggling to wrest control of the town from one of the more powerful militias, the Rwandan-backed Union of Congolese Patriots (UCP). UCP soldiers included children, were reportedly often drunk, and were armed with automatic weapons and grenades. European troops thus faced a situation that was unpredictable and highly charged but nevertheless succeeded in pacifying Bunia without great difficulty.[46]

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[46] The most complete account of the mission's operations can be found in Ulriksen, Gourlay, and Mace (2004, pp. 515–521).

The success of the Artemis mission resulted, in part, from the preparations of a smaller, pre-Artemis French special forces team. It is rumored that the French team did not hesitate to use violence, including killing rebel leadership, to demonstrate its will to the local groups. These measures have not been acknowledged openly, perhaps due to the fear that the memory of Francophone colonial rule would lead to negative press. However, it is very likely that this limited demonstration of deadly resolve contributed substantially to the success of the Artemis mission.

The main obstacles to that mission were logistical. The Bunia airport was barely operational and needed constant repairs.[47] By June 24, the EU reported that the town had been successfully disarmed, and by June 25, the European troops were in control of all key points in the town.[48] At this point, civilians began to return. Bunia did not become a weapon-free town as intended, but weapons did become "invisible"; that is to say that they were no longer openly brandished. More importantly, competing factions returned and opened political offices in the town, in the spirit of the peace process. The Ituri Interim Administration, which had been installed to administer the state until national authorities could take over, also returned and was able to restart its work.[49] The ground was thus well prepared for the success of the new MONUC II troops who began arriving in August.

The Artemis mission was restricted to Bunia. When the UCP militias in the town were displaced, the result was an increase in violence elsewhere in the region. Human-rights groups called for an expansion of the European force to the rest of Ituri.[50] In spite of these drawbacks,

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[47] Jacques Isnard, "L'Opération Artemis Est Limitée a Bunia Ville et Bunia-Aéroport," ["Operation Artemis Is Limited in Bunia and at Bunia Airport"], *Le Monde*, June 9, 2003.

[48] Miskel and Norton (2003, p. 9).

[49] Alpha Sow, "Achievements of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force and Future Scenarios," in Mark Malan and João Gomes Porto, eds., *Challenges of Peace Implementation: The UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, December 2003, pp. 210–211.

[50] For example, ICG, *Congo Crisis: Military Intervention in Ituri*, Africa Report No. 64, Nairobi, New York, and Brussels, June 13, 2003b.

French Defense Minister Michèle-Alliot Marie and her Belgian counterpart, André Flahaut, hailed the operation as a major success during a joint visit to Bunia. Notably, in their remarks, the ministers emphasized the success that the operation represented for the ESDP rather than its importance for state-building in the DRC.[51] European success in pacifying Bunia clearly resulted from its superior force. Most troops were drawn from the French special forces or 3rd Infantry Paratroop Regiment. They used relatively heavy weaponry, including Mirage attack aircraft, Gazelle attack helicopters, ERC-90 light tanks, and armored personnel carriers. European militaries did not operate solely by force, however. They also pressed local leaders to negotiate their differences. The combination of willingness to use force and pressure on local leaders was one of the main reasons for the success of the mission.[52]

The Artemis operation successfully reversed the deterioration of the security situation in a key region, but a great deal remained to be done. Restoring security required not only building effective Congolese security forces but also carrying out an effective DDR program. It meant accomplishing both of these as fighting in the east continued and the political process remained fragile. One of the main benefits of the Artemis operation was that it provided time for the UN to put together a new MONUC force with a stronger mandate, more soldiers, and better equipment. In late August 2002, the MONUC II troops began to arrive. New MONUC forces faced a situation that remained unstable. Militias continued to operate in both the Ituri and Kivu regions. MONUC extended its control incrementally in Ituri but was unable to stop the fighting altogether. In fact, as MONUC extended its control outside Bunia, fighting actually intensified as the militias were pushed closer together.[53] Needless to say, the Congolese army, which by 2004 consisted of only a few reintegrated brigades, was not prepared to

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[51] Said Flahaut, "On a fait avancer la défense européenne d'un grand bond" (quoted in Emmanuel Serot, "Europe de la Défense," Agence France-Presse, August 1, 2003).

[52] As noted by Miskel and Norton (2003).

[53] UNSC, "Fifteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2004/251, March 25, 2004a.

play a major role. Only by the end of 2004 did it begin to contribute in any significant way.[54]

In mid-2004, a crisis broke out in the Kivu region that again threatened to blow the whole peace process apart. The conflict arose when the transitional government attempted to replace the regional commander of the pro-RCD army in the region. The army revolted. Led by the renegade general Laurent Nkunda, the rebels took control of the regional capital of Bukavu and other towns. Several hundred people were killed, and thousands fled to Rwanda and elsewhere. The transitional government then sent reintegrated units of the FARDC to wrest control of the city from the rebellious factions. With substantial support from MONUC and political pressure from the international community, they succeeded. Some of the RCD-aligned troops were disarmed, while others, under General Nkunda, simply retreated back into North Kivu.[55] These setbacks demonstrated the underlying fragility of the security situation and of the peace. In response, UN forces were increased by 5,900—roughly half—in October 2004, and a new concept of operations that provided for more flexible command in the east was introduced.[56] MONUC would now have two military commands, one in Kinshasa at the three-star level and one in the east at the two-star level.

Artemis was always intended as a short-duration holding mission. Eighteen months after the EU intervention, the bulk of the burden for establishing and preserving security in the region still rested on UN forces. The Congolese national army remained unable to make a serious contribution, and progress toward its rebuilding had proceeded more slowly than many had hoped. Some early progress was made, especially by Belgium, which trained the first integrated battalion in

[54] UNSC, "Sixteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2004/1034, December 31, 2004c.

[55] UNSC, "Seventeenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2005/167, March 15, 2005a.

[56] UNSC Resolution 1565 (2004).

early 2004 and helped draw up a national plan for army reintegration. On the whole, however, progress was slow.[57]

One obstacle facing army reintegration was the slow implementation of a national disarmament program. DDR was intricately intertwined not just with maintaining security but, in fact, with establishing it. The national plan for army reintegration called for processing all soldiers through common DDR facilities, whether they were headed for permanent demobilization or for a fresh start in the FARDC.[58] The transitional government took its time in drawing up a national plan for DDR, however. When it presented the plan in May 2004, the MDRP and World Bank each approved $100 million loans to support the program.[59] It took until mid-2005 for the program to get off the ground. Even then, a number of logistical and financial problems stalled its thorough implementation. The main problem was that establishing an effective DDR program required convincing the erstwhile enemies in the government to disarm themselves. Another problem arose from the fact that the program was being used to rebuild the military, and DDR funding from many countries was restricted to nonmilitary uses. To complicate matters further, the World Bank and UNDP reportedly clashed over implementation.[60] Lack of progress toward enforcing the arms embargo also hampered progress.[61] By September 2006, the World Bank reported that 91,806 adult and 27,346 child com-

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[57] Belgium later participated with South Africa in the integration of the 3rd Battalion (ICG, 2006b, pp. 19–20).

[58] The process was referred to as *brassage*, after the French brewing term for mixing different ingredients.

[59] Individual European countries also contributed directly to DDR and to the MDRP. The European Commission contributed €1.5 million to help establish two DDR processing centers (European Commission, *Annual Report 2006 on the European Community's Development Policy and the Implementation of External Assistance in 2005*, Luxembourg, 2006, p. 111).

[60] On these issues, see ICG (2006b, especially p. 20).

[61] DDR efforts were further complicated by the inability of MONUC or DRC forces to stop the flow of arms into the country. The UN imposed an arms embargo in 2004, but monitoring, let alone enforcement, of the embargo was very difficult on account of the porous borders with Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda; the remote location of many of the trans-shipment points; and a general resistance to cooperation. See UNSC (2004a, 2004b, and 2004c).

batants had been demobilized.[62] In 2007, there were still large numbers of combatants—some 50,000 according to the MDRP—who still needed to be processed.[63]

Beyond securing the east, reintegrating the army, and establishing an effective DDR program, the army also needed fundamental reform, most of all to stop the army from preying on the population. Some progress on this issue was accomplished by the arrival of the EU security mission, EUSEC, in 2005. EUSEC comprised a small number of advisers who primarily assisted the government with reintegrating excombatants into the army.[64] The EUSEC advisers worked with various representatives of Congolese security institutions and helped rebuild the army at multiple levels.[65] For example, as awareness of the problems caused by unpaid soldiers grew, EUSEC implemented reforms that ensured that the salary-payment system would not be linked to the chain of command. EUSEC personnel also directly monitored the distribution of payments.

Steps were taken to provide basic police services while rebuilding national and local police forces. In the absence of an effective, nonpartisan Congolese national police force, MONUC established a "neutral" police force in Kinshasa in 2003.[66] The size of MONUC's police contingent increased over time, and MONUC's strategy for building the Congolese national police force relied largely on training the train-

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[62] MDRP, "Democratic Republic of Congo," Web page, updated March 2008. MONUC reported fewer, some 76,000 combatants, of whom 19,000 were children. UNSC, "Twenty-Second Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2006/759, September 21, 2006b, p. 12.

[63] MDRP, "Fact Sheet: Democratic Republic of Congo," May 2007.

[64] Council of the European Union Joint Action 2005/355/CFSP, on the European Union mission to provide advice and assistance for security-sector reform in the DRC, May 2, 2005.

[65] Council of the European Union, "The European Union's Engagement Towards Stability and Security in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)," May 23, 2005a.

[66] UNSC, "Second Special Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2003/566, May 27, 2003c, para. 40.

ers. Progress was slow.[67] The European Union participated actively in the effort, contributing funds and establishing a police mission, Kinsasha, to the DRC in early 2005.[68] By May 2005, the EU police forces had trained roughly 1,000 police for the integrated unit. In addition, the European Commission showed growing interest in contributing to police reform. France also made bilateral arrangements in 2004 to train and equip a rapid-reaction police force for riot control and, by mid-2005, had trained 1,500 police officers.[69] South Africa, the Netherlands, and other countries also began to contribute on a bilateral basis. To avoid duplication of effort, they formed a working group for police reform in 2005.[70]

The effort to train police increased as elections approached. In early 2005, the transitional government outlined a plan to train a force of 32,000 in advance of the elections, and MONUC continued its train-the-trainer program.[71] The EU pledged €8.9 million for training facilities and equipment. Other European countries also increased their contributions. By September 2005, 39,000 police had been trained and deployed across the country. Of these, 18,500 had been trained in crowd control or other specialized tasks.

On the whole, training police was more successful than reintegrating the army. The most important evidence of progress was the relatively professional comportment of the police forces during the 2006 elections, especially when dealing with protests and rioting. The main problems were rooted in the hesitation of the transitional government,

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[67] UNSC (2004a, para. 16).

[68] The unit, which comprised 30 members and had a budget of €4.3 million (2005), participated as part of the ESDP in its first civil mission. See Council of the European Union, "The European Union Launches a Police Mission in Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," press release 15855/04 (349), Brussels, December 9, 2004.

[69] UNSC (2005a, para. 44).

[70] UNSC, "Eighteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2005/506, August 2, 2005c, para. 53.

[71] Compare UNSC, "Special Report of the Secretary-General on Elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2005/320, May 26, 2005b, para. 48, to UNSC (2005c, para. 48).

as well as the lack of an effective judicial or prison system to comple-ment police operations. The main focus of police reform, especially in 2005–2006, was not on civil justice. Rather, it was on preparing a force large enough and sufficiently trained to respond to election-related dis-ruptions. Pressure to prepare for the elections may have skewed police training priorities somewhat. Although the need to stabilize the coun-try before the elections helped focus international efforts on police reform, the emphasis on election stability also appears to have diverted funds from certain other, longer-term rule-of-law needs, including the judicial and correctional systems.

As the 2006 elections approached, international focus shifted somewhat from the east to Kinshasa and other major cities. Many feared that the elections would lead to rioting or open conflict between troops linked to the two main presidential candidates, Jean-Pierre Bemba and Joseph Kabila. A second EU mission, EUFOR DRC, was organized to bolster the MONUC troops. Forces began arriving in July 2006 with a UN mandate to stay through the second round of presidential elec-tions, scheduled for October.[72] The force included 1,100 troops in Kin-shasa and a larger support contingent in Gabon and Chad. A battalion-size reserve force was based in metropolitan France. The force reached full capacity in late July 2006.[73] Germany was in command and pro-vided a third of the troops; another third were provided by the French. Eighteen other EU countries and Turkey also participated.[74] Unlike the Artemis mission, a much higher level of EUFOR DRC costs was financed jointly through the EU's new Althea mechanism designed for this purpose.

The value of the European forces was illustrated when the first-round election results were announced on August 20 and a new round

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[72] UNSC Resolution 1671, on the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo, April 25, 2006; Council of the European Union Joint Action, 2006/319/CFSP, on the European Union military operation in support of MONUC during the election process, April 27, 2006.

[73] "EUFOR Reaches Full Capacity in the DRC," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, August 9, 2006.

[74] IRIN, "EU Troops Arriving Can Use Force If Need Be—Force Commander," UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, June 26, 2006a.

of fighting broke out in the capital. A large portion of the foreign diplomatic corps was trapped in Bemba's cellar when forces aligned with Kabila attacked his residence. EUFOR was called into action, successfully dispersed the crowd, and rescued the diplomats.[75] The incident served to bolster the legitimacy of the EU mission, since it pitted Europe's military power against Kabila. This helped to discourage the widespread view that the European force was in the DRC simply to ensure that Europe's favorite was successfully installed as president. Legitimacy was especially significant to the success of EUFOR DRC because of the small size of the European force in relation to the population of the capital. To bolster legitimacy, the military leadership also developed tactics that encouraged peaceful interactions between the European soldiers and the local population. These included instructing soldiers to keep their arms out of sight, operating in open vehicles whenever possible, and contributing visibly to local development projects. The EUFOR mandate ended in November, and the EU troops began to withdraw.

Assessing the improvement in the security situation in the DRC between 2002 and 2007 is difficult, given the lack of reliable data. As of 2007, the FARDC was still a long way from exercising complete control over the east, and the army remained far from professional. Although much had improved in Ituri, the situation remained insecure in the Kivu region. Despite these problems, there was clearly an improvement during this five-year period. As of 2007, negotiations for the surrender of the General Nkunda, the leader of one of the east's two major rebel factions, were progressing.

Humanitarian

Numerous humanitarian organizations worked to provide relief for the massive numbers of Congolese who had fled the country or had been displaced since the fall of Mobutu. In 2003, the number of IDPs in the country was estimated at 3.4 million, the second-largest inter-

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[75] Frederic Renoux and Oscar Mercado, "Calm in Kinshasa as Negotiations End Two Days of Violence," UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, August 23, 2006.

nally displaced population in Africa.[76] Large numbers of refugees and IDPs were able to return home over the course of 2004 and 2005. The number of IDPs declined by 1 million, to an estimated 1.6 million, in 2007.[77] Mortality rates appeared to have declined as well.[78] However, the continued violence, especially in the southern Kivu region, displaced a new group of Congolese.

The main obstacles to providing relief were the physical inaccessibility of many of the areas and the lack of security in the east. As security improved, so did the ability of the international community to help. Despite this, the humanitarian situation was still bad by 2007.[79] MONUC estimated that there were more than 400,000 refugees abroad.[80] Cholera, HIV, and other diseases remain widespread. The UN estimated that $687 million was needed for humanitarian and relief aid in 2007. This figure was second only to the amount estimated for Darfur.[81]

Civil Administration

Civil administration and justice were not primary or even tertiary goals of foreign assistance. Not surprisingly, the DRC remained law-

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[76] UNSC, "Fourteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2003/1098, November 17, 2003d.

[77] UNHCR, *Global Appeal 2007*, Geneva, November 2006, p. 101.

[78] Published information on mortality rates covers only through mid-2004, when rates were still higher than those in other parts of the region. See Benjamin Coghlan, Richard J. Brennan, Pascal Ngoy, David Dofara, Brad Otto, Mark Clements, and Tony Stewart, "Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Nationwide Survey," *Lancet*, Vol. 367, No. 9504, January 7, 2006.

[79] For an overview, see Refugees International, "'Seizing This Moment of Hope' Calls Security Most Pressing Humanitarian Issue in D. R. Congo," October 17, 2006.

[80] Eoin Young, "UNHCR: The Congolese Merit More Than Just Plastic Sheeting," UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, January 15, 2007a. These figures are, of course, very rough, and some estimates are as much as 200,000 lower for DRC refugees. See Faubert (2006, p. 9).

[81] IRIN, "DRC: UN Says US$687m Needed in Humanitarian Support," UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, December 14, 2006b.

less. State administration continues to suffer from underfunding, graft, and poorly educated and trained civil servants. Tax collection reflected the weakness of the DRC's civil administration. The majority of the DRC's tax revenues came from customs duties, of which some 60 to 80 percent were estimated to have been lost to corruption. The DRC collected only 10 percent of GDP in taxes, compared with 18 percent for Kenya.[82] Provision of health services was almost nonexistent,[83] and border control was weak, especially in the east.

Corruption was a major problem at all levels of government and in all its offices. Fighting corruption requires a functioning judicial system, which the DRC lacked. There were very few judges, the judiciary was not independent of the politicians, judicial officials were badly paid, there was little infrastructure for the courts, and the prisons were decrepit and cholera-ridden.[84] Most criminals went unpunished. Prison breaks were common. Women did not have equal rights de facto or de jure. Rape was commonplace, and there was a serious problem with trafficking in children.[85] Despite the progress on the political and security fronts, state institutions remained weak.

Democratization

The 2002 accords established a power-sharing arrangement among the five major parties to the Sun City accords. Kabila was given the presidency, and four vice presidents were appointed alongside him, one from each of the major political-military forces in the country. Important ministerial posts were distributed to each of the major parties, and a transitional national assembly was established. The two major steps

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[82] ICG, *Escaping the Conflict Trap: Promoting Good Governance in the Congo*, Africa Report No. 114, Nairobi and Brussels, July 20, 2006c, p. 4.

[83] ICG (2006c, p. 1).

[84] S.O.S. Justice, "Quelle Justice pour les Populations Vulnérables à l'Est de la RDC?" ["What Justice for the Vulnerable Populations in the East of the DRC?"], August 2005, pp. 2–3.

[85] United Nations Human Rights Committee, "Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties Under Article 40 of the Covenant, Concluding Observations of the Human Rights Committee, Democratic Republic of the Congo," CCPR/C/COD/CO/3, April 26, 2006.

toward establishing democracy were a referendum on a new constitution and elections. These events were scheduled for 2005 to provide ample time to overcome the logistical challenges to polling posed by the DRC's lack of infrastructure.

There were a number of delays in the process. Holding elections required both establishing an electoral law and drafting a constitution in addition to drawing up procedural plans for polling. An independent electoral commission was established in June 2004 to direct the process. The transitional assembly was, however, slow to pass many of the most crucial laws for several reasons. These included strikes by an administrative staff disgruntled because it had not been paid and fundamental disagreements over the form of government that the DRC should adopt.[86] The deterioration of the security situation over the first half of 2004 further slowed the process in mid-2004, and the RCD-Goma party even temporarily withdrew from the transitional process in August.[87] To drum up funding, the UN and EU held a donor conference in Paris that raised $130 million in pledges to support the electoral process. Transitional governors were appointed in May 2004 but were largely impotent.[88]

By early 2005, it was clear that elections were not going to be held within the established time frame. When the transitional government released this information, Congolese rioted. In response, a "seminar" that included both domestic and international participants was held to examine how to speed up the process. This was followed in the first half of 2005 by a number of high-level visits by such individuals as Javier Solana. Perhaps as a result of this renewed international attention, renewed progress was made in mid-2005. The parliament adopted the draft constitution, drew up a law on the referendum process, and agreed on a six-month extension to the election timeline.[89] Voter registration began in June 2005 and proceeded with remarkable success for

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[86] UNSC (2004b, pp. 1–3).

[87] Under international pressure, it agreed to return a week later.

[88] UNSC (2004b, p. 3).

[89] UNSC (2005b, p. 2).

several months. By December 2005, 25 million Congolese had registered, of whom roughly half were women.[90] The referendum was held, and the constitution was ratified by 62 percent.

Progress accelerated in 2006, when the parliament passed the electoral law and candidate registration began. In July, 70 percent of registered voters participated in the country's first national democratic elections in more than 40 years. Elections involved some 50,000 polling stations across the country and several thousand national and international observers. Approximately 213 parties and coalitions participated. President Kabila won a plurality in the first round and a majority in a second round against Bemba. There were reports of intimidation and clashes among the various political parties during the election, but the elections went smoothly. Importantly, Bemba did not contest the result and in December announced his intention to run for the senate.[91]

Early the following year, however, there were clashes between troops still aligned with Bemba and those aligned with Kabila. Bemba was forced into exile, drawing into question the future of Congolese democracy. It remains to be seen how well the new Congolese democracy will work. President Kabila has a potential legitimacy problem that was directly related to the international community's nation-building efforts. Several foreign governments openly supported his campaign. This was a mixed blessing that has led many Congolese to view him as the most recent incarnation of a long line of dictators supported by foreigners. The UN troops and the EU forces who were to keep the peace during the elections were viewed by some Congolese as Kabila's stooges—and, more importantly, he was viewed by some as their stooge.[92]

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[90] UNSC, "Twentieth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2005/832, December 28, 2005d, p. 3; UNSC, "Twenty-First Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," S/2006/390, June 13, 2006a, p. 2.

[91] "DR Congo's Bemba to Run for Senate After Losing Presidentials," Agence France-Presse, December 8, 2006.

[92] I. William Zartman, "Recovery in the DRC: The Wars of the Zairean Succession," Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, unpublished manuscript, p. 7.

Economic Stabilization

Economic development was a high priority for the European Union and other international actors. International assistance to the economic rehabilitation of the DRC began with the 2002 peace accords. Macroeconomic stabilization was a priority from the start. The IMF established a country program in 2002, and, in July 2003, with the World Bank, it arranged a major relief package under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative.[93] Relief helped lay the foundation for the introduction of a stable currency.[94]

Many of these efforts were successful. As Figure 6.2 indicates, hyperinflation was tamed, and the exchange rate remained stable. Monetary stability opened the door to foreign investment, thereby encouraging growth. But there were challenges. There was an increase in inflation following the Bukavu crisis of mid-2004. More importantly, during the run-up to the elections in 2005, infighting within the government over the budget led the IMF to suspend its program. This left the government without direct budgetary support from the World Bank and increased the temptation to resort to inflationary financing.[95] In addition, the transitional government's budget has been funded largely by donations from the international community, such as the World Bank, which provided some $100 million in grants annually in 2003–2005. The IMF has accordingly characterized the DRC's macroeconomic situation in 2006 as "fragile," largely on account of the budget gap and problems with structural reform and corruption. Still, the IMF regards the DRC's overall progress toward macroeconomic stability since 2002 as "remarkable."[96]

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[93] When the DRC reaches its "completion point," its debt will be reduced from approximately $13 billion to $1.5 billion over the course of the next two decades (IMF, "IMF and World Bank Support US$10 Billion in Debt Relief for the Democratic Republic of the Congo," press release, No. 03/127, July 28, 2003b).

[94] The EU contributed €106 million (European Commission, *Annual Report 2004 on the European Community's Development Policy and the Implementation of External Assistance in 2003*, Luxembourg, 2004a, p. 171).

[95] IMF (2006b).

[96] IMF (2006b, p. 12).

Figure 6.2
Consumer Price Inflation
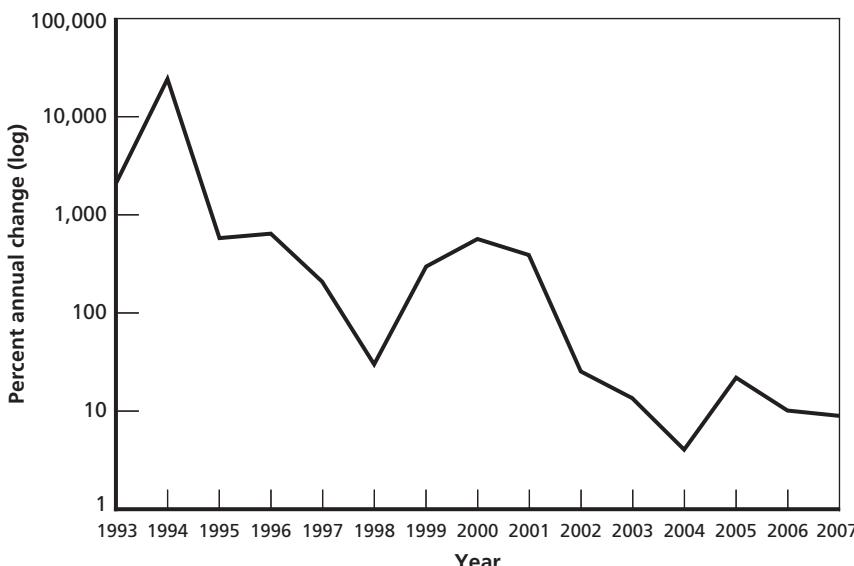
SOURCE: International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database,
October 2007d.

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Macroeconomic stabilization went along with the recovery in
economic growth, which was bolstered by contributions from several
sources. Since 2002, the World Bank has committed more than $1 bil-
lion in grant aid to several projects. The largest of these programs pro-
vided $579 million for emergency infrastructure and social programs.
In December 2003, the World Bank started a $120 million program
to rehabilitate public-sector companies.[97] The EU was also involved
in supporting economic development. After the 2002 accords, the
EU promised a substantial package of development aid and humani-
tarian assistance as part of the eighth European Development Fund.
The EU pledged €120 million in early 2002 for infrastructural, legal,
and agricultural projects. The aid promised in 2002 covered roads

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[97] For a complete description of the projects undertaken in 2004–2005, see World Bank
(2004).

(€80 million), medical and other health assistance (€10 million), and institutional support (€16 million). In smaller proportions, money went to strengthening the judicial system and human-rights protection.[98] Overall economic growth remained strong after 2002, as indicated by Figure 6.3. As expected, growth in the mining sector was particularly important to recovery, along with wholesale trade, construction, and telecommunication. There was reportedly more than $2 billion in direct assistance to economic development in the DRC from the private sector.[99] Exports rose well above their 1995 levels.[100]

Figure 6.3
Gross Domestic Product Percent Annual Change, 1993–2007
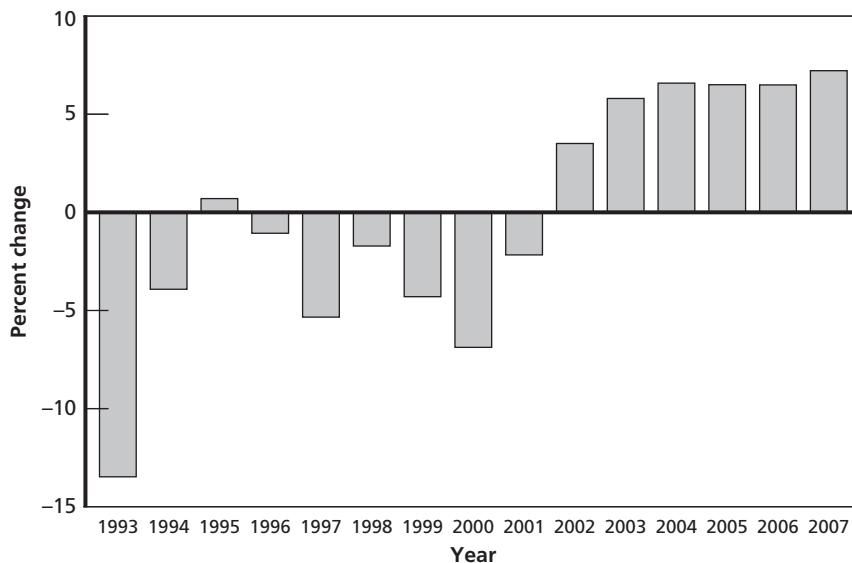
SOURCE: International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, October 2007d.

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[98] European Commission, *Annual Report 2003 on the European Community's Development Policy and the Implementation of External Assistance in 2002*, Luxembourg, 2003a, pp. 196–208.

[99] Interview with a World Bank official, January 2007.

[100] World Bank, "Democratic Republic of Congo at a Glance," September 28, 2007c.

Numerous economic challenges remained. On average, it took 155 days to start a business in the DRC, as compared with 61 elsewhere in Central Africa.[101] This made it the most difficult country in the world in which to start a business in 2005, according to the World Bank. Infrastructure was still lacking. Although the World Bank reported success in rehabilitating roadways, the whole country still had fewer than 300 miles of paved road.[102] Per capita GDP was $120 per year in 2005.[103] Corruption remained a major problem; many Congolese (with good reason) still do not trust the state.[104]

Lessons Learned

In the late 1990s, the DRC was in an anarchic, Hobbesian state of war. The challenges to nation-building were great. Yet by 2006, the DRC held democratic elections and appeared, albeit tentatively, on course toward greater stability. The case of the DRC is also important for understanding Europe's developing nation-building capacities. The country has been a major focus for Europe and a proving ground for an evolving European policy. The EU has conducted two military missions under the ESDP in the DRC and has spent more on state-building there than anywhere else outside Europe.[105] Europe's experience in the DRC has, in turn, had a major influence on the evolution of the ESDP, encouraging the development of EU battle groups and the introduction of new financing mechanisms while pointing up some of the problems inherent in coordinating nation-building within the EU itself.

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[101] World Bank, "Doing Business 2007: How to Reform," 2007a.

[102] World Bank, "Country: Congo, Democratic Republic of," in *Report on the Status of Projects in Execution—FY06 SOPE*, Washington, D.C., September 19, 2006b.

[103] World Bank data.

[104] See Jason Stearns and Michela Wrong, "Struggle for a Functioning Congo," *Financial Times*, August 4, 2006.

[105] As a portion of EU military spending under the ESDP, not as a measure of bilateral spending.

The Congo operation contains numerous lessons both for the UN and the EU:

- The UN and EU collaborated effectively despite the EU's episodic military participation and insistence on maintaining a separate command chain.
- Earlier and more substantial international efforts might have yielded better results more quickly.
- Although the absolute personnel and monetary costs of the Congo operation have been high, relative to population size, it is one of the most economical nation-building operations on record.
- Elections may have absorbed a disproportionately large proportion of international resources.
- While the two EU military expeditions were undoubtedly helpful, a less intermittent commitment of European troops would have been better still.

In the DRC, the UN and EU worked together and with other major actors to restore order and establish a functioning state. Despite numerous challenges, the European experience there illustrates the potential benefits of EU-UN cooperation, especially on the security front. The EU-UN approach was characterized as "punctuated" because the EU acted as a rapid-response force to bolster the long-standing UN mission. The UN provided baseline security, and the EU intervened to support the UN with much greater capabilities but for limited periods. The main benefit of this approach was that it was more economical than a sustained EU mission would have been. The shorter duration of the mission and the fact that it was controlled by the EU also facilitated recruitment. It is not at all clear that Europe's nation-states would have been willing to make the investment under any other arrangement.

The largest shortfall in the nation-building effort in the DRC was the lack of early efforts to coordinate the international response. As noted previously, the European Union and other actors missed important opportunities to focus efforts and coordinate a strategy immediately after the 2002 peace accords. This seems to have resulted from a lack of international faith in the peace itself. In addition, hopes of a rapid

reform of the FARDC were unrealistic. Problems with the FARDC retarded the process of securing the eastern regions of the country, threatened the peace process, and created a much greater burden for the international community. Arguably, had there been greater realism about the amount of time it would take to rebuild the army, resources might have been shifted toward this aim and other, less pressing goals would have been postponed.

Nonetheless, nation-building in the DRC was somewhat successful, given the relatively low cost. The commitment of financial resources and personnel was significant in nominal terms, though not in proportion to the country's size, the severity of the crisis, or, for that matter, its economic potential. Although nearly 20,000 troops (EU and UN) were deployed by the summer of 2006, this commitment was fairly small in proportion to the total population—less than one soldier per 3,000 inhabitants. It cost roughly $1 billion per year to run MONUC. In addition to the costs of the military operations, development and humanitarian aid were roughly $5 billion from 2002 to 2007.[106] This amounted to a total bill of more than $10 billion over five years (not including debt relief) for a country with an annual gross national income of $6 billion in 2005.

Could these resources have been more effectively distributed? Spending on democratization was one area that soaked up large amounts of foreign aid, some of which might have been put to better use. This was especially the case if the costs of EUFOR DRC are included, as they should be, as part of election support. Yet even without the military cost, the international community gave more than half a billion dollars for election support. If some of this money had been spent on rebuilding the army, it is possible that the instability in the east might have been brought under control more quickly and effectively. Similarly, the effect of the push for elections appears to have skewed the focus of crucial police training toward riot control and away from civil

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[106]OECD statistics show more than $1 billion in official development assistance (ODA) in 2004 and 2005 and a much higher figure—more than $5 billion—for 2003, the year in which the debt package was organized (OECD, OECD.Stat, dataset DAC2a, ODA disbursements, 2000–2006).

policing. Finally, rule of law and governance capacity-building seem to have been underfunded.

Additional funding for reintegration of the FARDC, however, would not necessarily have accelerated the process significantly. Army reintegration faced several other obstacles as well, including the reluctance of the participants in the political process to fully cooperate. The elections themselves appear to have been an important part of the reconciliation of the political forces in the country and were closely linked to the Sun City accords. It is also unclear whether any further delays in elections would have been tolerated by the civilian population, which had rioted when they were first delayed. Without successful elections, there might have been a return to civil war.

Turning, finally, to the ESDP, one might rightfully ask, What was its value? There were clearly alternatives, such as a unilateral intervention by a lead country, on the model of the British participation in Sierra Leone. After all, Artemis was in some ways more a French than an EU operation. The unilateral option might have reduced deployment time by cutting the Political and Security Committee out of the process. In the case of both Artemis and EUFOR DRC, however, the mission deployed quickly enough to get the job done. A French-led mission might not have enjoyed quite the same degree of legitimacy that the EU mission did. The financial and political burden on France would also have been even greater—perhaps so great that it would have resulted in no mission at all. Alternatively, the mission might have taken place under UN command. But with the ESDP, European parliaments had greater confidence that their troop commitments would be finite and were less concerned about mission creep.[107] Thus, they were more willing to provide troops. A European action under the ESDP, in other words, was an easier sell than a direct European contribution to MONUC would have been. Nevertheless, the fact that an EU mechanism provided an earlier and surer exit strat-

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[107] In this sense, the successful withdrawal of European forces at the end of their mandate (with only a short extension) bolstered the case for this type of operation in the future. On this point, see Neveux (2004).

egy is not necessarily a measure of the institution's capacity to achieve enduring results.

Both these missions in the DRC offered a far greater military challenge for the EU than did the Macedonian operation that had preceded them, despite their much shorter duration. The DRC was far from Europe. There were no nearby NATO or U.S. forces available to render assistance in extremis, and NATO was not asked to assist in planning the operation. The situation was much more chaotic, the possibility that deadly force would be needed commensurately higher. The ratio of international troops and economic assistance to the population was lower. Conducting its first successful military operation of any size (the EU military force in Macedonia had numbered only 300) in such a demanding environment thus represented a definite advance in the EU's institutional development. While the UN deserved most of the credit for what was accomplished in the Congo, the two EU interventions gave that mission an important boost while demonstrating, for the first time, a common European capability to project military force over great distance.

Bosnia

On December 2, 2004, EUFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina took over responsibility from NATO for enforcing the security provisions of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. The European Union thus became the lead international actor responsible for ensuring security in Bosnia and helping Bosnians to build a democratic society and a healthy market economy. Operation Althea, as it was called, was the culmination of the EU's gradual assumption of leadership for nation-building in Bosnia. This transition from a dominant U.S. to European role had begun at least as early as 2002, when Paddy Ashdown became the first EU HR to also serve as the EUSR.

The U.S.-led efforts, in which European governments and institutions had, of course, played a major role, were covered in the first volume of RAND nation-building case studies.[1] This chapter picks up where that volume left off, covering the gradual shift to European leadership and developments since 2003.

In the years immediately after the 1995 Dayton peace settlement, the international community's efforts in Bosnia were primarily aimed at ending the war, establishing a durable peace, and encouraging democratization. Early goals included disarming the two sides, setting up postwar government institutions, and holding elections. As these initial goals were achieved, the emphasis of international efforts shifted toward helping Bosnia prepare itself for potential membership in the European Union. The HR, with his ability to remove politicians

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[1]   Dobbins, McGinn, et al. (2003).

and issue legally binding decrees, was an extremely powerful political actor in Bosnia. In November 2003, the European Commission published a feasibility study examining what Bosnia would have to do to prepare itself for the stabilization and association process—the prelude to becoming a member of the EU.[2] The study revealed significant challenges, including some left over from the initial post-Dayton attempts to create an effective democratic government in Bosnia.

Figure 7.1 shows a map of the region under discussion in this chapter.

Challenges

The Dayton accords were designed to end the civil war in Bosnia and establish a stable, multiethnic, democratic government. The accords established a highly decentralized state composed of two powerful entities—the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska (RS) and the Bosniak and Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH)—under a much weaker national government. Brcko, a contested municipality, was given special status under a separate administration independent of both entities. Ethnicity was explicitly recognized in the post-Dayton constitution, which included strong provisions concerning power-sharing and vetoes.[3]

The UN, World Bank, IMF, OSCE, and NATO oversaw different aspects of the peace agreement. The Office of the High Representative (OHR) was created to oversee Bosnia's institutions and coordinate the nation-building effort. As quickly became evident, the Dayton-based constitution could not function without periodic OHR intervention to break deadlocks, remove obstructive officials, and impose controversial legislation. Weaning Bosnia away from this dependence on

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[2] See European Commission, *Report from the Commission to the Council on the Preparedness of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Negotiate a Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the European Union*, Brussels, November 18, 2003d.

[3] See Florian Bieber, *Post-War Bosnia: Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, Chapter 4.

Figure 7.1
Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina

international oversight and putting in place functioning institutions
compatible with European norms thus became a focus of EU efforts.[4]

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[4]   Stefano Recchia, *Beyond International Trusteeship: EU Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Occasional Paper No. 66, Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, February 2007, p. 13.

Security

Following the signing of the Dayton accords, the first concern was to ensure a safe, secure environment in Bosnia. NATO successfully separated and gradually disarmed the warring sides and enforced the peace agreement. Indeed, the UN peacekeeping force, in the two months that separated the Dayton settlement from the NATO deployment, had largely completed the first of these tasks. The level of violence immediately reduced, though Bosnia did experience occasional riots, assassinations, and attacks against refugees returning home, if they returned to areas where their ethnic group was in the minority. Instability in neighboring areas, especially Kosovo, also contributed to tensions. However, the troop levels required for stability operations were soon significantly reduced, dropping steadily from around 60,000 in 1996 to 7,000 in 2004.[5] Maintaining a secure environment was thus not the EU's principal challenge.

A far greater challenge was police reform. Under the Dayton accords, police forces throughout Bosnia were permitted to be mono-ethnic, even if multiple forces were created in the same jurisdiction. Many veterans of the war were absorbed into the police. Forces often harbored individuals with extremist views and, in some cases, abusive behavior. Annex 11 of the Dayton accords created the International Police Task Force (IPTF) under UN control, whose job it was to reform Bosnia's police. From 1996 to 2002, the IPTF permanently banned 793 of 18,000 officers it examined.[6] Police reform remained a key issue even after the UN turned responsibility of the mission over to the EU in 2004. The EU insisted on such reform as a requirement for progression toward the stabilization and association agreement in

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[5]   Larry Wentz, ed., *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, Washington D.C.: Institute for National Security Studies, 1997, p. 3; NATO, SFOR Stabilisation Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "SFOR Organisation," Web page, last updated June 1, 2004; Dobbins, Jones, et al. (2005).

[6]   European Stability Initiative, *On Mount Olympus: How the UN Violated Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Why Nothing Has Been Done to Correct It*, Berlin, Brussels, and Istanbul, February 10, 2007, p. 1; Timothy Donais, "The Limits of Post-Conflict Police Reform," in Michael A. Innes, ed., *Bosnian Security After Dayton: New Perspectives*, New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 174–179.

its feasibility study of November 2003. In addition to concerns about even-handed law enforcement, that study concluded that Bosnia's multiple ethnic police forces were excessively expensive and inefficient.

Military reform was another goal set out in the EU feasibility study. Under the accords, the warring parties demobilized most of their combat forces, but Bosnia continued to maintain several armies. In 1998, the international community pushed the two entity governments to downsize their military forces. In 2000, the Peace Implementation Council (PIC) gave NATO the authority to promote the creation of a joint, national-level military. NATO followed up by insisting on civilian control of the armed forces at the national—not entity—level as a condition for membership in its PfP program. Many nationalistic politicians opposed the creation of a national army, because they saw their ethnic militaries as a guarantee of their security and as a source of prestige. In October 2002, the Orao scandal erupted. SFOR found evidence that RS companies were exporting military jet-engine parts to Iraq despite an arms embargo. The HR was able to use this scandal as a club to force the Serbs to accept a national military and dissolve their own.

Humanitarian

Following Dayton, the international community made a major effort to encourage the return of refugees. The international community hoped to undo some of the ethnic cleansing pursued during the war and recreate an ethnic mosaic in Bosnia by ensuring that as many of Bosnia's refugees as possible were able to return to their prewar homes, even if the ethnic makeup of these areas had changed. While most of the first refugees to return went to areas where they were a majority, by 1998–1999, the number of refugees returning to areas where they had been in the minority began to increase. Returns of refugees to such areas peaked in 2002, when 102,111 returnees returned. By 2003, returns had dropped to 44,868, as most of those with a desire to return had done so. Violent incidents also fell from 277 in 2002 to 135 in 2003.

Violence against returnees had been the most significant source of political violence in Bosnia following the war. Many came back only to

reclaim and sell their property, after which they moved on. Moreover, most of the returnees were elderly.[7] While some refugees continued to wish to return to their former homes, as of 2007, almost all had either returned or resettled elsewhere. Thus, facilitating the return of refugees to their former homes is no longer a major part of the international community's efforts in Bosnia.

Another important aspect of the humanitarian situation was the question of minority rights throughout Bosnia. Despite the international community's efforts to facilitate the return of refugees to their former homes, even if they were to be a minority in that area, post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina remained segregated. Minorities faced discrimination and even violence. Individuals who were not Bosniak, Serb, or Croat also had limited political rights. In an effort to correct this, the national-level constitutional court ruled in 2002 that the two constituencies could not specify and privilege the Serbs, Bosniaks, or Croats as "constituent peoples" and emphasized, "Segregation is, in principle, not a legitimate aim in a democratic society."[8] This decision challenged the international community to reduce segregation in Bosnia and called into question the nationality-based political rights guaranteed by the Dayton accords.

Governance and Civil Administration

The main challenge facing the European Union in Bosnia was to improve governance. While the international community had been relatively successful at establishing peace and holding elections in the second half of the 1990s, it had been unsuccessful in helping Bosnians create an efficient, integrated government. Once the EU took over, it faced the particular challenge that its vision of an efficient, unified Bosnian state differed from the earlier emphasis of the international community. Earlier, the international community had focused most

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[7]   Recchia (2007, p. 18).

[8]   Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, "'Constituent Peoples' Decision of the BiH Constitutional Court," September 14, 2000; Bieber (2006, pp. 123–129). The decision was only narrowly passed with the support of only the three internationally appointed justices and the two Bosniak justices.

heavily on establishing security and promoting economic growth. In pursuit of these goals, it had tolerated behavior by entity and cantonal governments that fostered segregation in their areas. The many, often overlapping layers of government and the resulting inefficiencies were tolerated by the international community in the interest of co-opting potential spoilers.

The Dayton accords called for a multiethnic democracy in Bosnia. Some elements of the international community felt that the Bosnians should be pressed to go far beyond the minimal requirements of Dayton. In particular, they argued that the international community should work to marginalize the nationalist politicians who sought to keep Bosnian society split by weakening the powers of the entities, strengthening those of the government, and eliminating at least some of the provisions that served to elevate specific ethnic groups in the various governments.[9]

Strengthening governance in Bosnia has since been the main focus of EU efforts, and preparing Bosnia for membership in the EU has been the principal vehicle for such capacity-building. A major EU concern has been the inefficiencies in Bosnia's many governments, especially with regard to size, politicization, and the problems in coordinating government activities across Bosnia's many layers of government. The EU feasibility study emphasized that more governmental powers should be moved from the entities to the national government to reduce the size of government and simplify regulation. Moreover, to join the EU, Bosnia must be fully sovereign—in other words, capable of functioning without the periodic intervention of the HR to break impasses and impose legislation.[10] On the economic side, the EU insisted that Bosnia take more steps to open its economy.

Immediately after Dayton, the international community focused on implementing the accords and encouraging the creation of a multiethnic democracy. This meant tolerating multiple layers of government in an elaborate system of ethnically oriented checks and balances

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[9] See, for example, Edward P. Joseph, "Comment: No More Failed Experiments in Bosnia," *Balkan Insight*, March 29, 2007.

[10] European Commission (2003c, pp. 7–11).

designed to limit the "tyranny of the majority." The institutions that emerged were expensive, inefficient, and often corrupt. The accords instituted a multilayered government, consisting of a national government divided into two entities, and within the Bosniak-Croat entity, the further devolution of power to ethnically homogenous cantons, which, in turn, had their own parliaments and ministers. In total, Bosnia, a country of only 3 million inhabitants, now has 14 separate parliaments and 200 ministers. Because of complex restrictions and minority vetoes, moving legislation through these parliaments has proved difficult. Politicians have created patronage networks, and some have links to organized crime.[11] In addition, the size of Bosnia's civil service quadrupled during the war. The international community had made little progress by 2002 in shrinking the size of the government.[12] After the EU took over, it gave higher priority to making Bosnia's many governments more efficient and in line with EU norms.

The effort to eliminate the OHR has presented another difficulty. The EU's HR had been granted extraordinary authority in the form of the Bonn Powers of 1997, enabling him to remove politicians and issue decrees with the force of law.[13] Some argued that these powers created a moral hazard: Because Bosnia's politicians could rely on the HR to be responsible, they could take politically opportunistic stances, making nationalistic statements to pander to their supporters. Absent the HR, politicians would have to become more responsible for Bosnia's future in Europe. On the other hand, the HR had removed corrupt, divisive politicians and approved legislation that would otherwise not have passed. The EU was thus faced with a dilemma: It could have reform, or it could transfer authority to the locals, but it could not achieve both.

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[11] See Sumantra Bose, *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 63, 86–89; Timothy Donais, *The Political Economy of Peacebuilding in Post-Dayton Bosnia*, New York, Routledge, 2005, pp. 73–78.

[12] Interview with a former OHR official, July 17, 2007.

[13] In many ways, the Bonn Powers gave the HR the powers of a colonial viceroy. "In BiH, outsiders actually *set* [the political] agenda, *impose* it, and *punish* with sanctions those who refuse to implement it" (Gerald Knaus and Felix Martin, "Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina: Travails of the European Raj," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14, No. 3, July 2003, p. 61; emphasis in original).

The EU also faced the task of arresting and prosecuting war criminals who remained at large. After a slow start, NATO forces had captured a significant number of indicted war criminals for transfer to the Hague for prosecution. However, the RS had yet to apprehend a single war criminal on its own. Major Serb war criminals, most notably Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, remained at large, though not necessarily in Bosnia.[14]

Democratization

The international community had focused on ensuring fair, regular elections. Bosnia held eight elections between 1996 and 2002, all of them supervised by the OSCE and all of them judged to be free and fair. The results largely consolidated the position of the nationalist parties that had led their communities through the recently concluded civil war.

The international community was thus concerned about the commitment of Bosnia's political parties to democracy. Both the EU and the earlier administrators of Bosnia encouraged Bosnians to take a broader view of democracy. As HR Carlos Westendorp stated, "I wouldn't consider elections to be free, fair and fully democratic until all political parties . . . are really pluralistic, and include all ethnic groups in this country."[15] Unfortunately, despite such international pressure, the most powerful parties in the country remained ethnically, not nationally based. The three strongest parties following the war were the same parties that had started the war: the Serbian Democratic Party, the Croat Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (HDZ), and the Bosniak Stranka Demokratske Akcije. They retained their strength for two elections, 1996 and 1998, with some improvement by the non-nationalist parties. The international community responded by pushing through electoral reform in 2000. These reforms created an open-

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[14] Paddy Ashdown, *Swords and Ploughshares: Bringing Peace to the 21st Century*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007, pp. 254–255.

[15] Quoted in David Chandler, *Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton*, London: Pluto Press, 1999, p. 134. Chandler points to a number of different areas in which the international community demonstrated its hope for a multiethnic democracy in Bosnia.

list system to decrease the nationalist parties' power and established preferential voting systems in the federation and for the RS presidency. However, these reforms did not succeed in altering the political environment in Bosnia. The more moderate parties did marginally better in the 2000 elections, but the nationalists were victorious in the 2002 elections.[16] Even the reportedly less nationalist parties, such as the Serb Savez Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata (SNSD), led by Milorad Dodik, still vigorously defended the prerogatives of the RS. Ethnic voting and nationalistic leadership were still entrenched.

The international community hoped that Bosnia would become more integrated again. To this end, they supported the return of refugees, but the limited number of Bosnians who returned to areas where they were a minority has kept the country ethnically segregated.[17]

Economic Reconstruction

The war had a catastrophic effect on Bosnia's economy. Reviving it was a major component of the international effort. The international community hoped to trigger rapid economic growth by reconstructing infrastructure, especially roads and housing; creating well-functioning economic institutions; and liberalizing the economy.[18] Aside from the initial reconstruction effort, the policies of the international financial institutions—the World Bank and the IMF—were similar to the liberalization efforts in other post-Soviet countries. These efforts contributed to a rapid recovery followed by solid, steady economic growth throughout the postwar period.

Despite this record, when the EU took over responsibility for international efforts for Bosnia, it faced lingering challenges to Bos-

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[16] Bieber (2006, Chapter 5); Bose (2002).

[17] The lack of a census makes it impossible to make any firm conclusions, but the refugee returns before 2003 appear not to have reintegrated the populations anywhere close to the prewar levels. Bieber (2006, pp. 31–33); Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Carl Dahlman, "Has Ethnic Cleansing Succeeded? Geographies of Minority Return and Its Meaning in Bosnia-Herzegovina," paper submitted for proceedings of Dayton—Ten Years After: Conflict Resolution, Co-Operation Perspectives, Sarajevo, November 29–December 2, 2005, pp. 8–21.

[18] Donais (2005, Chapter 5).

nia's economic recovery.[19] The division of Bosnia between entities and among cantons resulted in a complicated set of legislation and regulatory policies that made it difficult for companies to operate. Investors found themselves subject to complex tax laws because of the differing, cross-cutting authorities.[20] Bosnia's ethnic elites created another brake on economic growth. These elites obstructed legal changes that impinged on their authority or threatened their interests. Moreover, the political parties were corrupt. Leaders of the three nationalist parties controlled state-owned enterprises in their territories, which they used to cement their power. For example, in Mostar, Croat elites used the Hercegovacka Banka to launder money and pocket Croatian government funds intended for war veterans. The scandal broke in 2001.[21] In 1999, the *New York Times* reported that leaders of all three ethnic groups had embezzled as much as $1 billion from government coffers or foreign assistance.[22] Organized crime was endemic. Gangs smuggled goods on which tariffs or excise taxes were high, robbing the treasury of tax revenue. Some of these funds went to local politicians as well as to the criminal groups. In some cases, gangs trafficked in people, too.[23]

Bosnia's industrial economy also had to be restructured. Heavy industry, notably armaments, had formed the backbone of Bosnia's prewar industrial economy. The economic dislocation caused by the breakup of Yugoslavia had resulted in sharp declines in demand for these products,[24] and unemployment was high.

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[19] In 2002, Bosnia's GDP was only 76 percent of what it was in 1989. See World Bank, *Bosnia and Herzegovina Country Economic Memorandum*, Report No. 2900-BA, Washington, D.C., May 2005, p. 4.

[20] Donais (2005, p. 79).

[21] Donais (2005, p. 76).

[22] Chris Hedges, "Leaders in Bosnia Are Said to Steal Up to $1 Billion," *New York Times*, August 1, 1999; Donais (2005, p. 75).

[23] Donais (2005, pp. 68–78).

[24] European Stability Initiative, *Governance and Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Post-Industrial Society and the Authoritarian Temptation*, Berlin and Sarajevo, 2004.

On the other hand, with the help of the IMF, Bosnia had successfully introduced a new currency, the K-mark, which held steady against its reference currency, the German mark and, later, the euro. The K-mark has been well received, one of the few unifying institutions in Bosnia. A currency board prevented the entities and politicians from manipulating the money supply, which would have generated inflation, endangering Bosnia's economic recovery.[25]

The European and International Roles

The accords established a complex array of international institutions charged with the civil aspects of Bosnia's stabilization and reconstruction. At the top was the OHR, which was responsible for coordinating all these efforts. A large number of organizations and states participated as members of the supervising PIC. The United States played a major role on the council, which was commanded by the NATO force and was critical in encouraging the various Bosnian groups to cooperate with the international community.[26] As Bosnia stabilized, responsibilities shifted. The EU began to take a far larger role when Paddy Ashdown became HR in May 2002, the first to be double-hatted as the EUSR. The EU began to push the Bosnian governments to make the policy changes needed to pursue membership in the EU. After 2002, Ashdown explained that the international community was moving from the "push of Dayton" to the "pull of Brussels"—that is, from securing the peace to meeting the conditions for EU accession.[27] While the PIC retained overall responsibility, EU institutions were

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[25] Bose (2002, p. 112); IMF, *Bosnia and Herzegovina: 2004 Article IV Consultation—Staff Report; Fourth Review Under the Stand-By Arrangement and Request for Waiver of Nonobservance of a Structural Performance Criterion—Staff Report; Staff Supplement; and Public Information Notice and Press Release on the Executive Board Discussion*, Country Report 04/67, March 16, 2004, p. 3.

[26] Interview with a former OHR official, July 17, 2007.

[27] Paddy Ashdown, "From Dayton to Brussels," Office of the High Representative and EU Special Representative, May 12, 2004.

becoming increasingly important in making decisions and interacting with the Bosnian governments.

Military and Police

The EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM) took over for the UN-run IPTF on January 1, 2003. The EUPM was the EU's first effort under the ESDP, so it entailed elements of learning and experimentation. EUPM was to be responsible to the OHR/EUSR and to coordinate closely with NATO, and then, beginning in 2004, their missions overlapped, such as in dealing with organized crime.[28] Initially, the EUPM effort included approximately 500 police officers and declined to 200 after its mandate was extended in 2006. This compares to about 2,000 personnel at the height of IPTF.[29] The IPTF mission had focused on training and inspecting local police forces and, later, vetting police officers. EUPM did not certify police but worked to improve Bosnia's police by mentoring, monitoring, and inspecting them. EUPM's mandate also included fighting organized crime and restructuring the police force.[30] Ashdown created the Police Restructuring Commission to supervise this effort.[31]

In December 2004, EUFOR Althea took over responsibility from NATO for maintaining a safe environment in Bosnia. Althea is the largest EU military operation to date. It began with 6,300 troops deployed to three areas: the northwest, commanded by British; the north, commanded by the Finnish; and the southeast, commanded by

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[28] Council of the European Union Joint Action 2004/569/CFSP, on the European Union military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 12, 2004.

[29] United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "UNMIBH Mission Profile," Web page, last updated March 24, 1999; Council of the European Union, "European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina," Web page, undated.

[30] ICG, *Bosnia's Stalled Police Reform: No Progress, No EUI*, Europe Report No. 164, Sarajevo and Brussels, September 6, 2005, p. 5; European Commission (2003c, p. 41); EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, factsheet, March 2006.

[31] ICG (2005, p. 5).

the Spanish. About 14 percent of the deployed personnel were from non-EU nations, mainly Turkey.[32]

The command structure of Althea mirrored those of NATO operations, except that Althea followed the EU military chain of command rather than NATO's. Althea's commander answered to the EU Political and Security Committee, which fell under the Council of Ministers and the Council of the European Union. NATO's involvement in EUFOR did not cease, since Althea fell under the Berlin Plus arrangements that enabled the EU to use NATO capabilities, such as planning, intelligence, and communications. Consequently, the EU operational headquarters was based at SHAPE in Mons. The deputy SACEUR, British General John Reith, became Althea's commander.[33] NATO maintained a residual presence of approximately 150 officers in Sarajevo to support military reform and to aid the efforts of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), both conditions for Bosnia's joining PfP.[34]

Althea would retain the same goals as NATO, though it changed its focus slightly. The EU force provided a secure environment in Bosnia by conducting patrols, monitoring the situation on the ground, raiding arms caches, and deterring major breaches of the accords, just as SFOR had.[35] The transition between the operations was almost seamless, because many of the same countries were employed in both operations. Because the security situation remained stable, EUFOR began to focus more on the supporting tasks that NATO had been assigned

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[32] As of June 2007. See Recchia (2007, pp. 13–14); EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "European Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina—EUFOR Mission," Sarajevo, 2007.

[33] Leo Michel, "NATO and the EU Stop the Minuet; It's Time to Tango!" *EuroFuture*, Winter 2004, pp. 88–89; Julie Kim, *Bosnia and the European Union Military Force (EUFOR): Post-NATO Peacekeeping*, CRS Report for Congress, RS21774, Washington, D.C., December 5, 2006.

[34] See NATO Headquarters Sarajevo, homepage, undated.

[35] EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2007); interview with a former OHR official, July 17, 2007.

during its mission, including contributing to the ICTY and bolstering the efforts of the police against organized crime.[36]

Civil and Economic

After the EU took over the police and military roles, there were six main international actors in the effort to help improve the government and spur economic growth in Bosnia: the OHR/ EUSR, the European Commission, the OSCE, UNHCR, the IMF, and the World Bank.

The OHR/EUSR was the chief representative of the international community. It was in charge of coordinating the work of all of the international organizations in Bosnia, as well as supervising the civilian aspects of nation-building. The OHR was expanded in 1997, with addition of the Bonn powers, which gave the OHR the authority to issue legally binding decrees and to remove officials who were performing poorly.[37] Officially, the HR reported to the PIC steering board, which oversaw the civilian component of the international effort.[38] The PIC consisted of 55 countries and agencies and made its decisions unanimously. Because of the broad powers wielded by the OHR, an energetic HR could force reform in almost any part of Bosnia's government. Of course, the role of the HR depended, to a large extent, on who held the office. While the post was always held by a European, the EU's influence was solidified when Ashdown was appointed both HR and the EUSR. Ashdown and those who would later hold the joint position were responsible both to the PIC and the EU Council of Ministers and

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[36] Recchia (2007, p. 14); EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "EUFOR Organisation," Web page, undated; Kim (2006, pp. 2–3); National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, "NATO and the European Union: Improving Practical Cooperation," executive summary of workshop, Washington, D.C., March 20–21, 2006, pp. 3–6.

[37] Peace Implementation Council, *PIC Bonn Conclusions*, Office of the High Representative and EU Special Representative, December 10, 1997.

[38] The members of the steering board also fund the OHR. In 2006, the budget was €6.6 million, with contributions as follows: EU, 53 percent; United States, 22 percent; Japan, 10 percent; Russia, 4 percent; Canada, 3.03 percent; Organization of the Islamic Conference, 2.5 percent; and others, 5.47 percent. See Peace Implementation Council, "The Peace Implementation Council and Its Steering Board," Web page, November 29, 2006b, and Recchia (2007, pp. 14–16).

to Javier Solana, the Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union and HR for the Common Foreign and Security Policy.[39]

As Bosnia moved toward seriously contemplating applying for membership in the EU, the European Commission came to play a larger role in Bosnian affairs. It ordered the November 2003 feasibility study and set a potential start date for negotiating an SAA for November 2005. The European Union as a whole used the promise of membership to spur Bosnia's politicians to implement required reforms.[40] Formal responsibility for setting benchmarks lay with the European Commission. While part of the EU, the Commission has its own separate organization, staff, and mission in Bosnia. It did meet weekly with the OHR, but it has its own chain of command and claims separate authority. The Commission focused on technical goals that must be achieved for accession rather than the more political goals of the Council of Ministers or the goals of the Dayton accords.

Other institutions maintained supporting roles, though these roles waxed and waned as the mission proceeded. The OSCE was even larger than the OHR and complemented its activities. While the OSCE was originally charged with supervising elections, it ceded this authority to the Bosnian government in 2002 and began to focus more on monitoring human rights and other long-term projects.[41] For example, while the OHR worked on political stability and reform, the OSCE focused on such projects as educational reform, with the hope of encouraging Bosnian society to become more democratic over the long run.[42] After the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) closed at the end of 2002, UNHCR, UNDP, and the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights continued to have a presence in the country. With the exception of the largest, UNHCR, the role of these institutions was relatively small. The accords assigned UNHCR the task of assist-

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[39] Council of the European Union Joint Action 2004/569/CFSP (2004).

[40] Gerald Knaus and Marcus Cox, "The 'Helsinki Moment' in Southeastern Europe," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 1, January 2005. See also Recchia (2007, pp. 28–33).

[41] Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, "Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina," Web page, undated.

[42] Phone interview with a former senior OSCE official, July 23, 2007.

ing refugees in returning to their original places of residence. Consequently, much of UNHCR's work focused on the difficult task of facilitating the return of ethnic groups to areas where they would be in the minority. After refugee returns peaked in 2003, UNHCR consolidated its operations in 2007.[43] The World Bank retained its responsibility for funding development and reconstruction programs in Bosnia through the International Development Association. The IMF continued to monitor the economic situation and assist the currency board in maintaining exchange-rate stability.[44]

What Happened

The EU sustained security and economic growth in Bosnia but failed in most of its efforts to reform the Dayton constitution. Bosnia remained stable; enjoyed strong, steady economic growth; and adopted many of the provisions on improving its government that the EU encouraged it to adopt. But politics remained highly sectarian. Regulatory and political change was still driven by pressure from or unilateral decisions taken by the OHR. Most reforms stalled by April 2007.[45]

Ashdown emphasized two goals for Bosnia in his carefully crafted inaugural speech: justice and jobs.[46] During his time in office, Ashdown encouraged Bosnian politicians to pursue the goals laid out in the feasibility study, including improving governmental efficiency, instituting more accountability, and creating stronger national institutions. He also pushed measures to liberalize the economy and encourage growth in employment. To these ends, Ashdown issued 447 decisions, more than his predecessor, Wolfgang Petritsch, who issued only 250,

[43] UNHCR, Representation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, homepage, undated.

[44] Recchia (2007, pp. 17–18); World Bank, "International Development Association: Bosnia and Herzegovina," Web page, undated.

[45] Peter Palmer, "Comment: Time to Stop Dithering in Bosnia," *Balkan Insight*, March 29, 2007.

[46] Ashdown (2007, pp. 225–231, 298–313).

though Petritsch had a shorter mandate.[47] Despite his active tenure, Ashdown fully supported the Dayton constitution and made sure that his decisions did not contravene its provisions.[48] However, many participants in the international effort to reshape Bosnia, especially the PIC, became less enamored with Ashdown's activist approach as his tenure wore on.

In February 2006, Christian Schwarz-Schilling succeeded Ashdown. Schwarz-Schilling pledged not to use the Bonn powers in the hope of fostering Bosnian "ownership." His declared objective was to actually dissolve the OHR by the end of his tenure.[49] He kept to his promise not to intervene; the result was not increased ownership but stalled reform. Since Schwarz-Schilling's tenure, the PIC has backed a more active role for Schwarz-Schilling's successor, Slovak diplomat Miroslav Lajčák. The PIC, however, announced that OHR should be dissolved by June 2008. Table 7.1 lists the EU's HR/EUSRs from 2002 to 2007.

Table 7.1
EU High Representatives/EU Special Representatives, 2002–2007

Name	Nationality	Began Tenure
Paddy Ashdown	British	May 2002
Christian Schwarz-Schilling	German	January 2006
Miroslav Lajčák	Slovak	July 2007

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[47] Ashdown averaged 9.93 decisions per month, while Petritsch averaged 7.58. However, Ashdown shifted from issuing decisions unilaterally toward working with the Bosnian government to pass and implement needed legislation. (These averages are somewhat misleading, because some decisions are counted more than once and because some decisions did not involve overturning Bosnian laws or legislation. However, the numbers do reflect common perceptions of differences in operating styles between Petritsch and Ashdown (ICG, *Ensuring Bosnia's Future: A New International Engagement Strategy*, Europe Report No. 180, Sarajevo and Brussels, February 15, 2007a, pp. 5, 8, 28).

[48] Interview with a former OHR official, July 17, 2006.

[49] Christian Schwarz-Schilling, "High Representative's TV Address to Citizens of BiH," transcript, January 31, 2006.

The role of the United States also changed. Throughout Ashdown's tenure, the United States played a key role in shaping OHR policy. The United States was heavily engaged in military and police reform, prosecuting war criminals, fostering the rule of law, and implementing the reform of Bosnia's financial sector. The participation of the United States was critical, because some Bosnian authorities—in particular, Bosniaks—were more amenable to U.S. than EU suasion. After Schwarz-Schilling became HR and the OHR/EUSR played a more passive role, the United States began to shift from participating through the PIC and OHR to playing a more independent role through its embassy. Because Schwarz-Schilling was so unsuccessful in promoting reform, the United States lost faith in the OHR's ability to push change.[50] Nevertheless, the United States continued to have a strong interest in the stability of Bosnia. It also worked closely with the Bosnians to keep track of Muslim foreigners in Bosnia who might be engaged in terrorist activities. Figure 7.2 presents a timeline of EU activities in Bosnia.

Figure 7.2
Timeline of the EU Role in Bosnia
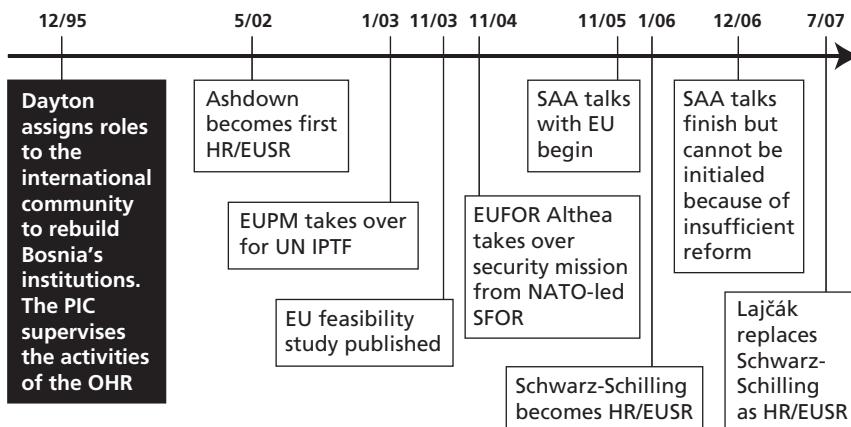
RAND *MG722-7.2*

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[50] Interview with a former OHR official, July 17, 2007.

Security

EUFOR successfully maintained peace in Bosnia. Aside from some limited violence and disruption accompanying the October 2006 elections, there was little ethnic violence in Bosnia during this period. In fact, rather remarkably, the country's crime rate fell below that of many West European countries.[51] Bosnian politicians continued to dispute the details of the country's political structure and many continued to make threats. But despite regional disruptions, including Kosovo's independence in 2008, political disputes did not degenerate into another bout of communal violence.[52] EUFOR's primary missions were conducting occasional raids to seize weapons and supporting the police in activities against organized crime. EUFOR was reduced in size, going from 6,300 when the mission began to only 2,500 as of July 2007.[53]

Initially, there were some turf battles because of overlapping responsibilities among EUFOR, EUPM, and NATO headquarters in Sarajevo. The exact workings of the Berlin Plus arrangements caused some friction, especially with regard to intelligence-sharing and Althea's ultimate autonomy. However, effective compromises on these issues and the organizations' leaders' expectations were eventually worked out by late 2005.

Defense reform was the primary institutional advancement of this period—and one for which NATO and the United States share much of the credit. While responsibility for defense was vested at the entity level following the accords, the 2002 Orao scandal opened up the possibility for revision of this element of the Dayton constitution. The scandal led to the resignation of the RS army commander and the Serb president of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the HR's removal of

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[51] Interview with a former OHR official, July 17, 2007.

[52] ICG (2007a, p. 3); U.S. Department of State, "Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Country Report on Human Rights Practices*, 2004–2007. Compare ICG (2007a) to others written about the peacekeeping effort in Kosovo, in which mention of riots and murders was far more common.

[53] EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (undated).

several other politicians. [54] Ashdown established a defense-reform commission in 2003 to move responsibility for defense to the national level without mandating that the entity defense ministries be eliminated or that the entity militaries be combined into a single joint Bosnian military. After NATO did not consider Bosnia for PfP membership in 2004 on the grounds that it did not have a unified military, Ashdown created a new defense-reform commission with a stronger mandate for planning "a single military force in Bosnia and Herzegovina" and pressured members of the commission to accelerate reform. The commission's final report fulfilled its mandate, after which the RS national assembly and the state parliament approved the recommendations. The entity-level militaries were abolished, effective January 1, 2006, a month before the end of Ashdown's tenure.[55] NATO played a key role in supporting defense reform, as did the United States.

The international community also contributed to the successful reform of the intelligence services during this period. While Bosnia had "two and a half" intelligence services (there was a de facto Croat service within the federation), after the war, Ashdown successfully appointed a reform commission to centralize the existing agencies into a single organization under the national government. By June 2004, Bosnia had a single intelligence service accountable to the national parliament.[56]

Police reform proved far more controversial and highly politicized, and it remains incomplete. The international community hoped that centralizing and depoliticizing the police would help; Ashdown began to focus on police reform in 2003 at the same time that judicial reform was being implemented. In 2004, the EU established three principles for successful reform: (1) the national government would have exclusive authority over all police matters, (2) there could be no political inter-

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[54] Tobias Pietz, "Overcoming the Failings of Dayton: Defense Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina," in Michael A. Innes, ed., *Bosnian Security After Dayton: New Perspectives*, New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 156–166; Ashdown (2007, pp. 248, 250–258, 277, 283).

[55] Pietz (2006, pp. 163–169).

[56] Ashdown (2007, p. 283); South East Europe TV, "Under the Same Flag: Reforming Armed Forces in the Western Balkans," transcript, 2005.

ference in policing, and (3) the organization of the local police had to be decided on a technical rather than political basis.[57] Some Bosnians argued that, if these three principles were adopted, the RS would no longer be a separate police jurisdiction. For this reason, the RS leadership vehemently opposed this change. Ashdown established a police-restructuring commission in July 2004 to make recommendations concerning the creation of a multiethnic police force under the control of the national government. As the process continued, it became clearer that the EU viewed police reform as a sine qua non for further progress toward accession. In October 2005, Ashdown convinced the RS national assembly, despite its reservations, to accept the three reform principles and agree to establish a police reform directorate to implement the principles.[58] Bosnia and Herzegovina then officially began to negotiate an SAA in January 2006.

The police-reform effort stalled not long after Schwarz-Schilling became HR in February 2006. Schwarz-Schilling supported the recommended changes but emphasized that he would not intervene by removing politicians or issuing decrees on his own. The PIC was displeased with Bosnia's slow progress. When the police-reform directorate completed its work at the end of 2006, RS politicians led by Prime Minister Milorad Dodik opposed the plan, fearing that police reform would threaten the existence of the RS as a separate entity. Dodik emphasized that he would accept a national-level police force but that the RS had to remain a separate policing district.

While EU and OHR officials have emphasized that their aim was to fight crime more efficiently, centralizing the police and changing the districts would significantly decrease the autonomy of the RS.[59]

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[57] Donais (2006, p. 183). Continued progress with the ICTY was also a key concern.

[58] The agreement was apparently reached at a "secret late-night meeting" at Ashdown's house. Ashdown (2007, p. 295); Donais (2006, p. 183); Gearóid Ó Tuathail, John O'Loughlin, and Dino Djipa, "Bosnia-Herzegovina Ten Years After Dayton: Constitutional Change and Public Opinion," *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 47, No. 1, January–February 2006, pp. 63–66.

[59] Milorad Dodik, "Looking Toward Tomorrow," *Washington Times*, May 24, 2007; Ulas Doga Eralp, "The Police Reform in BiH: The Way to Move Forward into the EU," paper presented at ninth annual Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop, February 2, 2007.

The international community's desire for a more multiethnic Bosnia continued to play a role in driving police reform. At the same time, some participants in the international effort felt that the international community had overreached in its demands. While it is true that Bosnia's police hardly met EU standards, maintaining the RS as a separate district was not out of line with practices in other European countries. Indeed, it is difficult to find federal systems that do not devolve control of police functions to some considerable degree. It seems likely that the EU will ultimately have to back off its position on this issue or impose it on the Serbs with possibly negative consequences for Bosnia's long-term stability.

Humanitarian

In 2002, the number of returning refugees peaked and then fell in subsequent years; cases of violence against refugees also fell. UNHCR helped broker a regional agreement in 2006 to facilitate the return of more refugees from nearby countries. Because so many of the refugees who were likely to return did so, UNHCR reduced its presence in the region as refugee returns fell.[60] Local discrimination against minority returnees continued to be a problem. Table 7.2 shows the number of minority returns in each year from 1998 to 2006.

Governance and Civil Administration

The EU made improving the efficiency and accountability of Bosnia's government one of its main priorities. Thus, the EU pushed Bosnia to revise its constitution and make a variety of changes in its civil-service and government operations. It also pushed Bosnia to reduce the powers of the entities and cantons and to eliminate overlapping legal and regulatory functions. In return, the EU would encourage the dissolution the OHR and complete an SAA with Bosnia. However, it failed to achieve most of these goals. The national and entity governments failed to reduce expenses or increase efficiency, and the constitution was not revised. The PIC was forced to extend the OHR's mandate. The SAA was not signed because the Bosnian government did not create an

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[60] See UNHCR (undated).

Table 7.2
Minority Returns

Year	Returns
1998	41,191
1999	41,007
2000	67,445
2001	92,061
2002	102,111
2003	44,868
2004	14,199
2005	5,815
2006	4,596

SOURCE: UNHCR data from 2005 and 2007.

integrated, national police force, nor had it made other police-related reforms. While the ICTY moved forward, it and the Bosnians failed to capture the two most infamous war criminals, Karadžić and Mladić.

Despite the recommendations of the feasibility study in 2003 and pressure from the PIC, Bosnia, perhaps predictably, failed to substantially reform its public administration. Duplication of functions persisted. The introduction of a value-added tax (VAT) increased government revenues and decreased tax evasion, but it did little to increase the efficiency of the government. A September 2006 World Bank study of public expenditure concluded that, although Bosnia had made some progress in reforming its economy, government expenditure remained far too high for the services it provided.[61] Politicians had little or no incentive to reduce public employment, because much of their power and authority stemmed from their control of government jobs.

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[61] World Bank, *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Addressing Fiscal Challenges and Enhancing Growth Prospects, A Public Expenditure and Institutional Review*, Washington, D.C., September 2006a, pp. i–ii and Chapter 2; Peace Implementation Council, "Communiqué by the PIC Steering Board," September 24, 2004.

The EU and the United States strongly pushed the Bosnian governments to amend the constitution so that ethnic vetoes could not be used so easily to deadlock the national government, an effort that came close to success but ultimately foundered as a result of nationalist resistance.[62] In 2005, the Venice Commission, set up by the Council of Europe, published a report on the Bosnian constitution highlighting its major weakness.[63] U.S. and European negotiators worked with the eight largest Bosnian political parties to craft amendments to the constitution that would enlarge the country's House of Representatives, weaken the presidency, weaken the ethnic vetoes of the House of Peoples, and simplify decisionmaking. This effort attracted the attention and support of the rest of the PIC. However, the reforms failed to pass the state House of Representatives after two parties, HDZ and Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu (SBiH), voted against the amendments. SBiH, led by Haris Silajdžić, argued that the reforms had not gone far enough.[64] SBiH used rejection of the amendments as a tool for strengthening its electoral prospects in 2006. One major issue arose between ethnic Serb and other parties: Ethnic Serb political parties insisted that the constitution would guarantee the continued existence of the entities, especially the RS, and other parties adamantly opposed these guarantees. The PIC continued to encourage constitutional reform after this initial failure, but no further progress has been made.

Bosnia's political parties have been slow to move legislation. Ashdown successfully pushed the national government to pass key laws;

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[62] Interview with a former OHR official, July 17, 2007.

[63] These included the weakness of the national government compared to the entity governments, the veto on the basis of national interests, and problems with the ethnic representation in the composition of the House of Peoples and the presidency. Note also that the Council of Europe is not a body of the European Union. See Don Hays and Jason Crosby, *From Dayton to Brussels: Constitutional Preparations for Bosnia's EU Accession*, Special Report No. 75, United States Institute of Peace, October 2006, pp. 3–4, and Venice Commission, "Opinion on the Constitutional Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina," March 11–12, 2005, pp. 24–25.

[64] The SNSD agreed to only some measures after the Bosniak Party for Democratic Action agreed to help it form a government in the RS (Hays and Crosby, 2006, pp. 9–11; ICG, 2007a, pp. 9–11).

however, new laws recommended by Schwarz-Schilling did not pass.[65] Under Ashdown, the government of Bosnia passed all the legislation listed in the feasibility study that was needed to begin negotiations for an SAA. However, once the negotiations began, passage of legislation slowed to a crawl. While this slowdown was due, in part, to the elections and the difficulty that the parties encountered in forming a new government, Bosnia and Herzegovina's politicians remained deadlocked over the future shape of their state at the close of Schwarz-Schilling's tenure.

Schwarz-Schilling stated in his inaugural fireside chat that the OHR would be dissolved during his tenure. His announcement was part of a larger attempt to encourage Bosnia's politicians to take responsibility and help prepare Bosnia for an SAA. Schwarz-Schilling was unsuccessful: The OHR was not abolished; rather, its mandate was extended. Schwarz-Schilling wrote that some politicians, notably Dodik of the SNSD, were particularly responsible for the continued presence of the OHR because of their continued comments in support of an independent RS. The PIC stated in June 2007 that it was deeply troubled by the political climate in Bosnia but somehow maintained the hope that it could end the mandate of the OHR in June 2008.[66]

Bosnia did take a major step forward when it fulfilled the requirements set out in the feasibility study and began negotiations for an SAA in November 2005. However, while Bosnia completed negotiations in December 2006, the SAA could not be signed, because Bosnia failed to make progress on police reform and cooperation with the ICTY.[67]

Bosnia did not make progress in prosecuting war crimes during this period. The RS began to transfer criminals to the ICTY in 2004 after Ashdown pressured RS politicians and began to remove from office those who failed to comply. A local tribunal in Bosnia was set up to try war criminals in November 2002. Although neither Karadžić

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[65] "Interview: Christian Schwarz-Schilling, High Representative for BiH: 'Dodik Is a Capable Politician, but He Is Playing with Fire,'" *Nezavisne Novine*, January 25, 2007.

[66] Peace Implementation Council, "Declaration by the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council," June 19, 2007.

[67] Peace Implementation Council (2007).

nor Mladić was apprehended, the EU succeeded in arresting individuals close to Karadžić and Mladić and in promoting reconciliation.[68]

Democratization

The international community set a variety of goals for democracy in Bosnia: holding elections, increasing the number of votes for moderate parties, and supporting the reintegration of the various ethnic groups. Bosnia successfully held a number of elections. The role of moderate parties increased, but they did not supplant the nationalistic parties, and reintegration proceeded slowly. The international community successfully muted hate speech in the media, an additional concern.[69]

Bosnia continued to hold free and fair elections after the OSCE transferred its election-monitoring authority to the Bosnian electoral commission in 2002. Since then, local elections were held successfully in October 2004, and successful national elections followed in October 2006. These elections have been found to be generally in line with democratic standards.[70]

Despite the hopes of the EU and the international community, Bosnians continued to vote along ethnic lines. In October 2006, two of the more inclusive parties, the SNSD and the SBiH, increased their share of the total vote. However, to do so, both parties turned to increasingly nationalistic appeals to voters. Dodik of the SNSD threatened to hold a referendum on whether the RS should become independent from Bosnia. SBiH leader Silajdžić discussing abolishing the RS.[71] The newly ascendant parties did not become more moderate after the election. Despite the relative success in helping refugees to return to areas where they were a minority, Bosnia remained highly segregated. Because no census had been taken since the war, statistics about the characteristics

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[68] Ashdown (2007, pp. 256, 293–294).

[69] Mirela Čamo and Radenko Udovičić, "Media and Ethics in B&H: Positive, but Slow Moves," *Mediaonline.ba: Southeast European Media Journal*, July 18, 2005.

[70] Peace Implementation Council, "Communiqué by the PIC Steering Board," October 20, 2006a.

[71] Peter Lippman, "Bosnia's 'Historic Elections': The Usual Tensions, Plus a Seed of Hope," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, December 2006.

and location of Bosnia's population were limited. Some data existed at the *opštini*, or municipality, level, but not for the entire country.[72] The return of refugees had not radically altered the patterns of ethnic settlement in Bosnia.[73] Nationalistic politicians remained in control locally, and returnees often faced difficult economic prospects. Even in areas that were inhabited by a number of ethnic groups, integration remained low. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosniak and Croat schoolchildren shared the same schoolhouse but often had separate classrooms, and their schedules were designed to prevent them from interacting.[74] Educational reform succeeded in creating a unified curriculum, but the curriculum had not been fully implemented.[75]

Economic Development and Reconstruction

Bosnia has become progressively less dependent on foreign aid while sustaining respectable economic growth rates. Foreign assistance declined from 12 percent of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's GDP in 2000 to 9.4 percent in 2003 and to only 5.7 percent in 2006.[76] While some parts of the Bosnian economy have been negatively affected by the decline in international assistance (for example, there declines of 20 to 25 percent in rents in Sarajevo), the local economies adjusted well and continued to grow. From 2004 to 2007, growth averaged 5.7 percent per year (see Table 7.3). Bosnia's large account deficits remained a

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[72] There are case studies of particular areas of return, such as Carl Dahlman and Gearóid Ó Tuathial, "The Legacy of Ethnic Cleansing: The International Community and the Returns Process in Post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Political Geography*, Vol. 24, No. 5, June 2005.

[73] Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Carl Dahlman, "The Effort to Reverse Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Limits of Return," *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 45, No. 6, September 2004; Bieber (2006, pp. 29–33).

[74] Donais (2005, pp. 153–156); Mirna Skrbic, "The World Under One Roof," *Transitions Online*, February 28, 2007.

[75] Phone interview with a former senior OSCE official, July 23, 2007.

[76] IMF, *Bosnia and Herzegovina: 2006 Article IV Consultation: Staff Report; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Bosnia*, Country Report 06/371, Washington, D.C., October 23, 2006d, p. 32; IMF (2004, p. 46).

concern, but these imbalances declined even as foreign aid decreased, because exports from such industries as electricity generation and forestry products grew.[77]

At least four factors contributed to sustained growth. First, the Dayton accords mandated a currency board, which has successfully maintained a stable currency. The K-mark was pegged to the German mark and, later, to the euro, so inflation remained low.[78] A number of foreign technical experts assisted the currency board, contributing to its success. Bosnia also successfully reformed its payments system and banking sector.[79]

Table 7.3
Key Economic Indicators for Bosnia

Year	GDP Growth	Current Account Balance
1998	15.6	−8.4
1999	10.0	−10.2
2000	5.5	−8.4
2001	4.5	−14.8
2002	5.0	−21.2
2003	3.5	−20.9
2004	6.1	−19.2
2005	5.0	−18.7
2006	6.0	−10.0
2007	6.0	−13.1

SOURCES: International Financial Statistics database, Bosnian government data, and IMF forecasts.
NOTE: Data from 2007 are estimates.

[77] IMF (2006d, p. 32); Ashdown (2007, pp. 81–84, 253–254).

[78] IMF (2006d, pp. 5–19, 31–32); World Bank (2006a, pp. 8–9).

[79] Phone interview with a former senior OSCE official, July 23, 2007; Ashdown (2007, p. 84).

Under Ashdown, the OHR contributed to liberalizing the Bosnian economy, which improved the environment for business. Ashdown's "bulldozer committee" offered citizens the ability to recommend that particularly onerous legal and regulatory provisions be scrapped.[80] While the committee was successful in dismantling some regulations, Bosnia's government institutions remained overstaffed and bureaucratic.[81] The OHR also attempted to get the Bosnian government to privatize some of the remaining large state-owned enterprises. Initially, the entity governments had tried to use vouchers that could be traded for shares in these companies. As in other postcommunist countries, the approach invited corruption and failed to raise new capital or induce a change in management. The large state-owned companies continued to lose money and remained as poorly run as before.[82]

On January 1, 2006, a 17-percent VAT replaced Bosnia's sales tax. The VAT was intended to increase the national government's revenues and reduce corruption and tax evasion. It succeeded in doing both. Initially, Serb politicians were skeptical of the VAT because they feared that more tax revenues for the national government would reduce the power of the entities. Some international actors were reluctant to back a policy that would increase the power of the national government because they had become used to dealing separately with the entities. In 2003, the OHR worked out a compromise whereby VAT would be collected countrywide and the revenues would be immediately distributed to both the national and entity governments through a set formula. The VAT was to be collected by private banks, making it more difficult to divert the funds to outside groups.[83] This compromise allowed the RS politicians to maintain the independence and authority of the RS while centralizing and depoliticizing tax collection. The introduction of the VAT seems to have gone extremely well, as both the

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[80] Knaus and Cox (2005, pp. 47–49).

[81] Knaus and Cox (2005, pp. 47–51); Ashdown (2007, p. 254).

[82] Ashdown (2007, pp. 81–86, 253–254).

[83] While some VAT districts overlap the Inter-Entity Boundary Line, these districts do not make a substantive difference in the collection of the tax. Interview with a former OHR official, July 17, 2007; Ashdown (2007, pp. 261–268).

government's revenue and the tax base have grown since its introduction in 2006.[84] Customs- and excise-tax collection was also successfully centralized.

Bosnia completed negotiations for an SAA with the EU, meeting all the economic policy criteria set by the European Commission, including passing laws concerning financing government institutions and measures to lower trade barriers with the EU.[85] Yet, as of late 2007, the EU has remained unwilling to finalize the SAA, because Bosnia did not integrate its entity police forces and the RS has not cooperated fully with the ICTY.

Bosnia's many governments continue to be expensive and inefficient. A 2006 World Bank report observed that government expenditures remained high relative to the quality of government services. Bosnia's expenditures on government exceeded those of countries that provided similar levels of transfers and services. In such sectors as education, social protection, and transport, Bosnian government services were far too costly for the benefits provided.[86]

Lessons Learned

Assuming lead responsibility for the nation-building mission in Bosnia represented a major advancement for the European Union and the culmination and validation of a nearly decade-long effort of creating institutional structures capable of bearing such a load. Among the lessons to be derived from this experience are the following:

- The European Union proved capable of deploying, employing, and sustaining substantial military force, albeit in relatively benign circumstances.

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[84] IMF, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: 2007 Article IV Consultations—Preliminary Conclusions, Sarajevo, May 22, 2007c; IMF (2006d, p. 10).

[85] Recchia (2007, pp. 25–27).

[86] World Bank (2006a, pp. vi–x, 21–23).

- The EU effectively drew upon NATO staff assets to help plan and direct its military operations.
- The United States playing a subordinate but substantial and supportive role.
- EU decisionmaking structures made adaptive, nuanced, agile leadership somewhat difficult.

Having failed in the first half of the 1990s to avert (and then to end) the civil war in Bosnia, the European Union embarked on a long process of institutional development designed to equip and employ military force as an instrument of its common security and defense policy. Extended negotiations also produced a transatlantic agreement on modalities whereby NATO could assist the EU in the organization and direction of such operations. Operation Althea was the first substantial and prolonged operational test of this new capacity, the military component of the 2001 Macedonian operation having been much smaller and the 2003 EU expedition in the DRC much briefer.

The EU force that assumed responsibility for peacekeeping in Bosnia was, nevertheless, 10 times smaller than the NATO force that had arrived in the wake of the Dayton settlement nine years earlier. By 2004, Bosnia was peaceful and comparatively prosperous, if not yet self-sufficient. The major challenges that the EU faced came in the political rather than the security or economic spheres.

Europe and the United States had not collaborated effectively a decade earlier, when the Europeans had last sought to lead peacemaking efforts in the Balkans. That experience raised the legitimate question as to whether the world's only superpower was capable of playing a subordinate yet substantial and constructive role. With the change in U.S. administrations in 2001, the initial danger was of a precipitate and destabilizing U.S. withdrawal from Bosnia. European governments were uniformly opposed to such a step, and the Bush administration wisely chose to a more gradual approach. Even after the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the 2004 handoff from NATO to the EU, the United States has retained substantial influence in Bosnia (as has NATO) and has worked constructively in support of EU objectives.

Bosnia remains peaceful and relatively prosperous under EU oversight, but it is still politically divided along ethnic lines and potentially unstable. The EU's performance in Bosnia since 2002, when the HR and EUSR positions were merged, has been a bit erratic. Paddy Ashdown proved to be the most active and exigent of EU representatives and his successor, Christian Schwarz-Schilling, the least. With Schwarz-Schilling's departure, the EU seems to have veered back toward a more assertive approach. Following 18 months of passivity under Schwarz-Schilling, the new HR/EUSR, Miroslav Lajčák, has sought to impose a consolidation of Bosnia's police forces that would probably be unacceptable to any federal state in Europe, let alone Bosnia. Provoking a constitutional crisis in Bosnia over this issue at precisely the moment when Kosovo was about to declare its independence suggests the difficulty that the EU encounters in trying to integrate and modulate its policies across a range of interrelated issues and areas.

The greatest challenge faced by the EU in Bosnia was not in the efficacious employment of armed force but, rather, in the formulation and application of the broader political-military strategy that must underlie it. Like NATO, the EU's decisionmaking processes requires consensus among all 27 of its member governments. Unlike NATO, there is no single, dominant member whose views tend to drive this process. The EU can consequently be slow to respond to new developments and changed circumstances. Its difficulty in reaching a common position on the final status of Kosovo is an example.

Solomon Islands

On July 24, 2003, the lead elements of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) arrived in Honiara. RAMSI was an Australian-led mission that was invited by the government of the Solomon Islands to help halt several years of widespread violence among the country's two largest ethnic groups. It signified a fundamental change in Australian foreign policy, which had long rejected direct intervention in the politics and conflicts of its small island neighbors. It also marked the beginning of an ambitious 10-year project to rebuild the country's security, government, and economic institutions.

The Solomon Islands is a small country in the southern Pacific Ocean east of Papua New Guinea and northeast of Australia. Its 567,000 residents live on six major islands and almost 1,000 minor islands.[1] It was a British protectorate until it gained independence in 1978, but the British had less of a direct presence there than in many of Britain's other colonies. As a result, the Solomon Islands inherited a very weak state structure in which formal institutions coexisted uneasily with the informal governance structures developed by the people of the islands. These traditional structures relied heavily on personal connections and enabled indigenous leaders to provide patronage and other benefits to their people. After independence, the formal state

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[1] CIA, *The World Factbook 2007*, Washington, D.C., 2007.

structures became rife with corruption as leaders used new patronage opportunities to extend their personal political power.[2]

Tensions have traditionally existed between the peoples of Guadalcanal and Malaita, the country's two largest islands. After World War II, the national capital was moved to Honiara, the largest city on Guadalcanal, which prompted a large number of people to migrate to Honiara from Malaita and other islands. By the 1990s, increasing migration flows and associated land issues fostered growing resentment among the original inhabitants of Guadalcanal.[3] At the same time, the violent struggle for independence on the neighboring island of Bougainville, part of Papua New Guinea, spilled over into the Solomon Islands.[4] Refugees, rebels, and weapons streamed across the border; stories of successful rebellion in Bougainville inspired many native inhabitants of Guadalcanal.[5]

In 1998, groups of men from Guadalcanal organized themselves into what became known as the Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army.[6] They used intimidation and violence to force more than 20,000 Malaitans off land in rural Guadalcanal. In late 1999, the Malaitans responded by forming a militia called the Malaita Eagle Force, which drew support from the large number of Malaitans serving in the Royal

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[2]   Elsina Wainwright, "Responding to State Failure—The Case of Australia and Solomon Islands," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 57, No. 3, November 2003b, pp. 487–488; Michael Fullilove, *The Testament of Solomons: RAMSI and International State-Building*, Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy, March 2006, p. 5.

[3]   Malaitan settlers purchased large amounts of land. Some of them also squatted on Guadalcanalese customary lands (Richard Ponzio, "The Solomon Islands: The UN and Intervention by Coalitions of the Willing," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 2005, p. 175; Fullilove, 2006, p. 5).

[4]   Australia, New Zealand, and other Pacific island countries had been involved in trying to restore stability in Bougainville, and, in fact, many personnel who served there later served in RAMSI as well. See Russell W. Glenn, *Counterinsurgency in a Test Tube: Analyzing the Success of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI)*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MG-551-JFCOM, 2007, pp. 2–6, 14.

[5]   Elsina Wainwright, *Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of the Solomon Islands*, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, April 2003a, pp. 19–22; Wainwright (2003b, p. 488).

[6]   The Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army was also known as the Isatabu Freedom Movement.

Solomon Islands Police (RSIP). With the police split along ethnic lines, the government was unable to control the escalating violence.[7] In early 2000, Prime Minister Bart Ulufa'alu asked Australia to provide police forces to help protect him and his government from a coup, but Australia declined, citing its long-standing policy against intervening in the internal affairs of Pacific island states.[8]

On June 5, 2000, members of the Malaita Eagle Force and the RSIP jointly took over the police armory in Honiara and forced Prime Minister Ulufa'alu to resign at gunpoint. The coup sparked large-scale violence between the Guadalcanalese and Malaitans, which continued to escalate throughout the summer.[9] Australia and New Zealand became diplomatically involved and helped broker a cease-fire in August and the Townsville Peace Agreement (TPA), which was signed on October 15, 2000. The TPA included provisions for disarming the warring factions, reforming the RSIP, and increasing provincial autonomy. It also called for the provisions to be monitored and enforced by a peace-monitoring council, assisted by an international police-monitoring team.[10] Australia took the lead in funding and supporting the agreement, providing approximately AU$22 million for the monitoring efforts and almost AU$60 million in broader economic and development aid; the 16-member Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)[11] and the UNDP also provided some assistance.[12]

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[7] Wainwright (2003a, p. 21); Fullilove, (2006, p. 5); Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, "Who's Keeping the Peace? Regionalization and Contemporary Peace Operations," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 4, Spring 2005, p. 185.

[8] At the time of this request, Australian police forces were also heavily committed in East Timor and in preparations for the Sydney Olympics (Wainwright, 2003b, p. 491; see also Wainwright, 2003a, p. 9, and Fullilove, 2006, p. 5).

[9] Ponzio (2005, p. 174); Fullilove (2006, pp. 5–6).

[10] Ponzio (2005, p. 174); Fullilove (2006, p. 6).

[11] The PIF was founded in 1971 and includes Australia, the Cook Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

[12] Wainwright (2003a, pp. 25–26); Ponzio (2005, p. 176).

The TPA was a limited success at best. The cease-fire was generally maintained, but the efforts to disarm the groups were only partially successful; guns remained widely available. Reconciliation processes were established but quickly disintegrated; political reforms stalled. Most importantly, law and order were never fully established. The police monitors serving with the international police-monitoring team were unarmed, and the government lacked the capacity to forcibly implement any aspects of the TPA.[13] By the time the TPA expired in October 2002, many of the fundamental challenges facing the Solomon Islands remained.

Figure 8.1 presents a map of the Solomon Islands and other nearby islands.

Challenges

Security

After the expiration of the TPA, ethnic violence quickly increased throughout Guadalcanal and Malaita. Large parts of the country were simply too dangerous for members of minority ethnic groups, which prompted large internal displacements. This ethnic violence "soon mutated into criminality and thuggery, including arson, kidnap, looting, assault, shootings, torture, rape and extrajudicial executions," one Australian analyst noted.[14] The RSIP lacked both the credibility and the capacity necessary to halt the disintegration of law and order. The police had become increasingly politicized since the RSIP's involvement in the 2000 coup, and individual police officers were often involved in the ongoing ethnic violence. Those who remained uninvolved in the escalating conflict simply did not have the resources and skills necessary to reestablish law and order. The institutional and management structures of the RSIP had largely collapsed, which meant that police officers were not paid regularly and lacked supplies as basic as pens and paper. Communication between headquarters and local

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[13] Wainwright (2003a, p. 23; 2003b, p. 488); Fullilove (2006, p. 6).

[14] Fullilove (2006, p. 6).

Figure 8.1
Map of the Solomon Islands
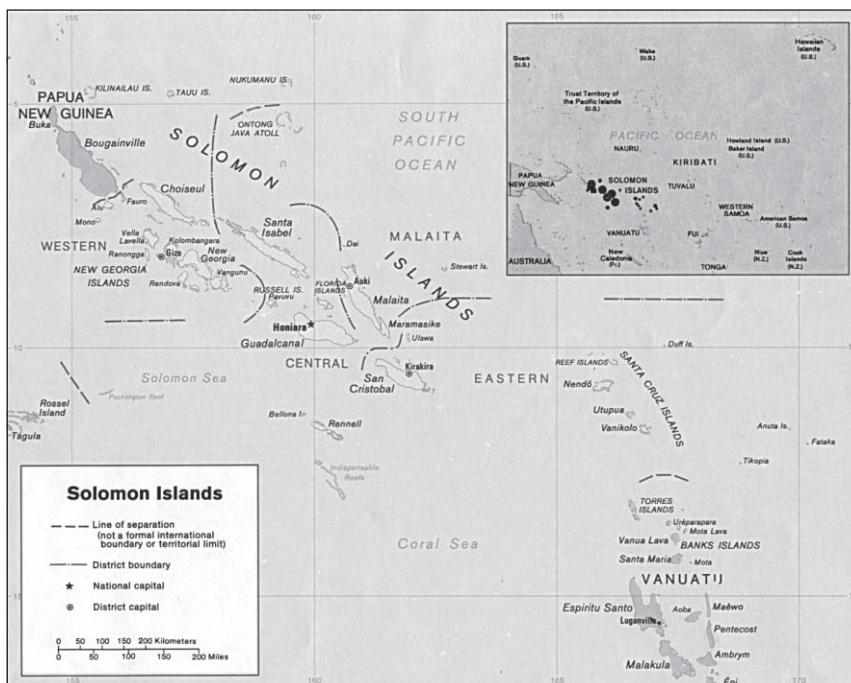
SOURCE: CIA, University of Texas, Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, 1981.
RAND *MG722-8.1*

stations was limited by poor connections and long distances; large parts of the country lacked any police presence at all.[15]

Humanitarian

The two major humanitarian challenges facing the Solomon Islands were internal displacement and a breakdown of social services. By 2001, the country had more than 35,000 IDPs—more than 6 percent of the total population—and that number certainly grew higher after the expiration of the TPA and the resumption of widespread violence. Those who remained in their homes faced increasing problems, because

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[15] Peake and Brown (2005, p. 522).

public services had not been restored according to the provisions of the TPA. Public infrastructure was being further destroyed in the ongoing violence.[16] In 2003, the Central Bank of the Solomon Islands noted that the government would have been unable to provide health and education services earlier that year if it had not been for ongoing support from the donor community.[17]

Governance

By 2003, the government was simply unable to govern in any meaningful way. Senior government officials were intimidated and threatened by armed gangs and militias, particularly from Malaitan groups. Many civil servants were involved in corrupt practices, including establishing personal patronage networks and spending state money for their personal benefit. The civil service largely ceased functioning. The government did not completely collapse, but it quickly became the object of conflict as the different groups battled for control of government resources and institutions, such as the police.[18]

Democratization

The Solomon Islands is a parliamentary democracy, so constitutional reform was not a key issue. However, pressures to devolve power to the country's nine provinces grew as the violence escalated. The lack of effective national governance, growing ethnic divisions, and perceived inequalities among residents of the capital and the rest of the country combined to strengthen advocates of devolution and, in some cases, secession.[19]

Economic Development

The initial outbreak of violence in 1998 caused severe economic problems. Poverty increased as unemployment rose and incomes fell. GDP

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[16] Ponzio (2005, pp. 174–175).

[17] Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, "Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands," *Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Fall 2005, p. 293.

[18] Ponzio (2005, p. 174); Fullilove (2006, p. 6); Wainwright (2003a, p. 25).

[19] Ponzio (2005, pp. 174–175).

fell by 25 percent between 1998 and 2002; in 2003, per capita GDP was about half of what it had been when the Solomon Islands gained independence in 1978. Exports fell 60 percent between 1996 and 2001, and government debt rose 40 percent in 2002 alone.[20] Audits revealed that corruption deprived the government of at least 80 million Solomon Islands dollars (approximately US$11 million) in revenue during the early 2000s; the true figure was probably several times that amount.[21]

Australian and International Roles

As the Solomons descended into civil conflict, Australia consistently refused to intervene directly. It provided diplomatic assistance and economic support, but its foreign policy had long been based on a principle of not intervening in internal affairs in the Pacific islands. As late as January 2003, Australia reiterated that it would not become directly involved. On January 8, 2003, Foreign Minister Alexander Downer published an op-ed in the *Australian*, stating,

> Sending in Australian troops to occupy Solomon Islands would be folly in the extreme. It would be widely resented in the Pacific region. It would be very difficult to justify to Australian taxpayers. And for how many years would such an occupation have to continue? And what would be the exit strategy? The real showstopper, however, is that it would not work—no matter how it was dressed up, whether as an Australian or a Commonwealth or a Pacific Islands Forum initiative. The fundamental problem is that foreigners do not have answers for the deep-seated problems afflicting Solomon Islands.[22]

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[20] Wainwright (2003a, p. 25); Fullilove (2006, p. 6); Ponzio (2005, p. 174).

[21] Clive Moore, "No More Walkabout Long Chinatown: Asian Involvement in the Solomon Islands Economic and Political Processes," paper presented at Solomon Islands: Where to Now? Australian National University, May 5, 2006.

[22] Quoted in Fullilove (2006, p. 6).

Yet the Australian government was considering a change in policy even as this op-ed was being written.[23] On April 22, Solomon Islands Prime Minister Allan Kemakeza officially requested Australian assistance. He met with Australian Prime Minister John Howard and other senior government officials during the first week of June. On June 5, Howard gave Kemakeza a document that established a framework for an Australian-led mission in the Solomon Islands.[24] A few days later, the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) published a report[25] supporting intervention, which probably increased public support for the mission. On June 25, the Australian government made a conditional decision that it would lead a mission to the Solomon Islands if such an operation received explicit support from both the Solomon Islands Parliament and the PIF.[26] In an interview with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Downer retracted his earlier views and stated that the continuing civil unrest had "forced" Australia to develop a new policy toward the Pacific island countries involving "nation rebuilding" and "cooperative intervention."[27]

On June 30, the PIF foreign ministers endorsed the Australian-led mission. The PIF had no legal or political mandate to authorize such a mission[28] but officially recognized it as consistent with the Biketawa Declaration of August 2000.[29] On July 4, the Solomon Islands governor-general formally requested regional assistance "to restore law and order, security and economic stability" to the country.[30] On July

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[23] Fullilove (2006, p. 7).

[24] Fullilove (2006, p. 7).

[25] Wainwright (2003a).

[26] Wainwright (2003b, pp. 491–492); Fullilove (2006, p. 7).

[27] He also stressed that this new policy would be implemented within a broader spirit of regional cooperation, in line with principles adopted by the PIF (Kabutaulaka, 2005, p. 287).

[28] Bellamy and Williams (2005, p. 169).

[29] The Biketawa Declaration endorses the principle of noninterference in the affairs of its members but recognizes the need for regional responses to crises and specific requests for assistance.

[30] Fullilove (2006, p. 7).

17, the Solomon Islands parliament unanimously adopted legislation that established the powers and immunities to be granted to personnel serving in the mission. On July 24, the Solomon Islands signed a formal agreement with each of the participating states that officially established RAMSI.[31]

Australia as the Lead Nation

Why did Australia agree to lead this mission and to revise a core principle of its foreign policy in such a short period? Part of the answer is almost certainly that the government of the Solomon Islands gave its explicit consent to the mission and retained full sovereign powers. RAMSI was deliberately referred to as an *assistance mission* rather than a *transitional administration* or *authority*, in recognition of this important principle.[32] But clearly this was not enough to prompt Australia to change its long-standing policy of nonintervention, since the Solomon Islands had directly requested Australian intervention before. Several factors seem to have combined to influence the Australian decision.

- *Proximity.* Australia has always had direct interests in its Pacific island neighbors. Honiara is only a three-hour flight from Brisbane, and there are many official and unofficial ties between the Solomon Islands and Australia.[33] The influential 2003 ASPI report argued that the crisis in the Solomon Islands "poses significant threats to the safety of thousands of Australians who continue to live or visit there," and that a "troubled neighbour will always be a more expensive neighbour."[34] It also argued that Australia had a unique status: If it did not act, no other country would, "because quite simply no other capable country has interests as direct and

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[31] Wainwright (2003b, pp. 491–492); Fullilove (2006, p. 7); Bellamy and Williams (2005, p. 186).

[32] Fullilove (2006, pp. 14–15).

[33] Ben McDevitt, "Operation *Helpem Fren*: A Personal Perspective," *Australian Army Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Winter 2006, p. 3.

[34] Wainwright (2003a, p. 14).

important as [Australia's] in what happens in this corner of the Pacific."[35]

- *Changing views of failed states.* In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks and the 2002 bombing in Bali—in which 88 Australians were killed—there was a growing view that failed states pose important security threats that must be addressed. The Solomon Islands had not yet completely collapsed, but there were fears that it was well on its way to doing so and only some sort of intervention could reverse that trend. In announcing the mission, Prime Minister Howard told the Australian Parliament,

> If we do nothing now and the Solomon Islands becomes a failed state, the challenges in the future of potential exploitation of that situation by international drug dealers, money launderers, international terrorism—all of these things, will make the inevitable dealing with the problem in the future more costly, more difficult.[36]

- *The regional context.* Australian government officials feared that increasing conflict and disorder in the Solomon Islands could flow into Papua New Guinea, just as had happened in reverse in the 1990s, and undermine the significant Australian investment in peace and rebuilding there.[37] The Solomon Islands was also seen as setting a precedent for Australian involvement in the Pacific islands, for better or worse. The ASPI report noted that the small size of the Solomon Islands meant that "if we cannot help there, it is doubtful that we can help any of our neighbours

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[35] Wainwright (2003a, pp. 16–17).

[36] RAMSI special coordinator Nick Warner echoed this theme approximately six months into the intervention, saying,

> [A] dysfunctional Solomon Islands held long term dangers for Australia and the region. . . . Experience elsewhere shows that weak states are also attractive as havens for money laundering, people smuggling, drug smuggling and terrorism. And while there was no evidence that transnational criminals were waiting to target Solomon Islands, there was no point waiting for this to happen. (Quoted in Kabutaulaka, 2005, p. 295)

[37] Wainwright (2003b, p. 489); Fullilove (2006, p. 7).

if and when they fall into serious trouble."[38] Furthermore, the fact that RAMSI was a multinational operation endorsed by the PIF was very important to Australia. Not only did this allay Australian concerns about burden-sharing, but it responded to long-standing criticisms from the other PIF members that Australia did not play enough of a visible role in the region.[39]

- *The aftermath of Iraq.* The Australian decision to intervene in the Solomons occurred only a few weeks after the end of major combat operations in Iraq, in which Australia and the UK had been the only countries to openly provide combat forces. The decision to lead RAMSI appealed to two important audiences, those abroad and those at home. It had a great deal of support from the U.S. government, which saw this decision as evidence that Australia was willing to take action to address the threat of failed states. It also appealed to an Australian public that had been quite skeptical about the war in Iraq and that saw RAMSI as evidence that the Australian government was willing to act independently of the United States and take a leading role in an operation that had direct links to Australian national security interests.[40]

- *Success seemed achievable.* Since the government of the Solomon Islands had not yet collapsed in 2003, RAMSI was seen as more of a preventive action that would be easier than reversing a case of complete state failure. Restoring law and order was viewed as an easier task than resolving a civil war. Furthermore, Australia had gained valuable experience and knowledge from its support of Papua New Guinea and its operations in East Timor, Afghanistan, and Iraq. There was a sense that Australia had the experience and resources necessary to succeed in the Solomon Islands, especially considering that country's small size.[41]

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[38] Wainwright (2003a, p. 7).

[39] Kabutaulaka (2005, p. 290).

[40] Fullilove (2006, pp. 7–8).

[41] Fullilove (2006, pp. 8, 10–11).

Although RAMSI was multinational by design, Australia provided most of the planning, personnel, and resources necessary for the mission. The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade established a task force to plan the mission, which worked closely with an intergovernmental committee run by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet to ensure coordination across all government agencies. They held numerous meetings and planning exercises, which developed the operational approach to the mission.[42] Australia negotiated the terms of the mission with the Solomon Islands government, though it did so on behalf of the PIF. Australia also paid most of the costs of the mission, including the costs for most of the Pacific islands' contributions, which totaled approximately AU$200 million (US$135 million) per year.[43]

Because Australia largely controlled the negotiations over the mission's mandate and the deployment of its personnel, RAMSI was established fairly quickly and effectively. Australia deliberately chose not to ask the UNSC to authorize RAMSI because it feared that it might involve additional delays.[44] A UN resolution probably would have been a formality, given the July 24 agreement, but Australia argued that the mission would be more effective if the UN were not involved.[45] Foreign Minister Downer was quoted as saying,

> We've got to recognize that the multilateral system does have its limits. And there have been occasions, I'm afraid, when the UN has been unable to deal with crises in Rwanda, in Kosovo, quite a long list of missed opportunities by the UN. And the case of the Solomons, it would just be too difficult to get the UN to solve this

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[42] McDevitt (2006, pp. 7–9).

[43] This figure was calculated using 2003 exchange rates. Fullilove (2006, p. 12); Ponzio (2005, p. 175).

[44] The Solomon Islands recognizes Taiwan diplomatically in exchange for significant economic assistance. Australia had considered seeking a resolution from the UNSC supporting the implementation of the TPA in 2000 but decided that China could pose too many potential difficulties to make pursuing a resolution worthwhile (Fullilove, 2006, p. 14; Ponzio, 2005, p. 176).

[45] Bellamy and Williams (2005, p. 186).

problem. We'll have to do it ourselves, with a coalition of other countries.[46]

Since the UN was, in fact, governing Kosovo when Downer made this statement, the "long list of missed opportunities" to which he refers probably relates principally to the UN's failure to endorse the invasion of Iraq, to which Australia had just been party.

The Composition of RAMSI

RAMSI was intentionally designed as a police-led mission. Police officials led the organization, implementation, and oversight of the mission, while military forces played a secondary role providing mission support.[47] At its height in the fall of 2003, RAMSI included approximately 2,250 personnel, including 300 police officers, 1,800 military personnel, and civilian advisers.[48]

The police officers served as part of a multinational force, the Participating Police Force (PPF). Australia provided more than half the PPF personnel, who were drawn from both the Australian Federal Police and the Australian Protective Services; the rest of the officers came from the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. The exact multinational contributions to the PPF varied over time, but Australia consistently provided the majority of the police forces.[49] Many of the small Pacific island countries saw participation in RAMSI as a way to gain experience interacting with Australian and New Zealand police forces, not only to deepen their skills but also to build valuable networks with the two largest police forces in the region.[50]

Although RAMSI was a police-led mission, the military component was deliberately quite large at the outset to ensure unopposed

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[46] Quoted in Ponzio (2005, p. 178).

[47] Peake and Brown (2005, p. 523).

[48] Fullilove (2006, p. 8). A full organizational chart of RAMSI's initial military component can be found in Glenn (2007, p. 21).

[49] Fullilove (2006, p. 8); Peake and Brown (2005, p. 523).

[50] "Security and Foreign Forces, Solomon Islands" (2007).

entry and to enable the police forces to start their work as quickly as possible.[51] The Australian Defence Force contributed approximately 1,500 personnel, including infantry personnel and engineers. It also provided communication capabilities, helicopters, transport and surveillance aircraft, and five naval vessels.[52] The remaining military forces were provided by the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga, and Vanuatu.[53]

Australia retained command and control of all aspects of RAMSI. It appointed a civilian special coordinator, Nick Warner, who had operational control over both the police and military components of the mission. This unitary control enabled RAMSI to avoid many of the problems of overlap and duplication that have been common in other nation-building operations.[54] Ben McDevitt, another Australian, was dual-hatted as the commander of the PPF and the deputy commissioner of the RSIP.[55]

On July 24, 2003, the initial component of RAMSI arrived in Honiara. It was known locally as Operation Helpem Fren, which is Solomon Islands pidgin for "Helping Friend." It involved a large commitment to assist such a small country, in terms of both money and personnel. RAMSI was the largest military deployment in the South Pacific since World War II. Australia openly acknowledged that the law-enforcement mission might need to last for as long as 10 years.[56]

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[51] The decision to incorporate a significant military component was made despite objections from New Zealand, which feared that the operation would seem too militaristic (Fullilove, 2006, pp. 16–17).

[52] Fullilove (2006, p. 8).

[53] "Security and Foreign Forces, Solomon Islands" (2007).

[54] Ponzio (2005, p. 179); Elsina Wainwright, "How Is RAMSI Faring? Progress, Challenges, and Lessons Learned," Australian Strategic Policy Institute, April 2005, p. 8.

[55] McDevitt (2006, p. 1).

[56] Ponzio (2005, p. 173); Ian Bostock, "Intervention Force for Solomon Islands," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, July 30, 2003.

What Happened

RAMSI was designed to comprehensively restructure the Solomon Islands. Although its immediate mission was to restore law and order, RAMSI also sought to address the many problems of governance, institutional capacity, and economic development that had contributed to the violence. The mission was designed to operate in three distinct phases:

1. *Commencement.* The first phase, which lasted from June to December 2003, focused on restoring law and order. Its goals were to deploy the PPF throughout the country, collect weapons, apprehend militant leaders, and strengthen the police force.
2. *Consolidation.* The second phase, which occurred during 2004, focused on consolidating the rule of law, institutional reform, building community trust, and facilitating economic activity and reconstruction.
3. *Sustainability and self-reliance.* The third phase, which started in 2005, focused on many of the same substantive areas as the earlier phases but emphasized training and capacity-building so that Solomon Islanders would be able to sustain the achievements of RAMSI. Since the mission was designed to have a 10-year time frame, the third phase is still under way as of this writing.[57]

Security

As noted previously, RAMSI was a police-led mission, with the PPF taking the lead role in both planning and executing operations. The PPF went beyond the usual approach of coordinating with local police forces, as most of its officers were directly sworn into the RSIP. Those PPF officers were formally and legally part of the RSIP, though they wore their home-country uniforms, drove different vehicles, and used different radio frequencies.[58] Australia had determined that this was

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[57] Ponzio (2005, p. 178); Wainwright (2005, pp. 3, 8).

[58] Peake and Brown (2005, p. 523).

the only way that RAMSI would be able to achieve its initial objectives, given the lack of local capacity. Having RAMSI personnel serving directly in the government—which also occurred in other areas, as discussed later—was sometimes criticized as a violation of sovereignty, but these arrangements were made with the full consent of the Solomon Islands government.[59] The total size of the RSIP was approximately 1,000 people, which meant that the addition of 250 RAMSI police officers expanded the size of the force by about 25 percent.

The security component of RAMSI had three separate but simultaneous missions: restoring law and order, rebuilding the institutional capacity of the RSIP, and rebuilding the legal and justice systems.

Restoring Law and Order. RAMSI took steps to restore law and order from the moment it arrived. A joint PPF and RSIP foot patrol occurred within two hours of RAMSI's arrival in Honiara, and RAMSI established its first police post outside of Honiara within two weeks.[60] The PPF immediately established weapon amnesty, which generated almost 4,000 firearms and more than 300,000 ammunition rounds in approximately three weeks. These weapons were destroyed rather than stored to alleviate any concerns about what might happen to the weapons after they were turned in.[61] Public weapon-destruction ceremonies were held throughout the country, which promoted interaction with local communities and helped build confidence in the RAMSI mission.[62]

RAMSI also moved aggressively to arrest militants who had been involved in the violence. In mid-August, a Guadalcanalese militant and

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[59] Fullilove (2006, p. 15).

[60] These achievements were the result of significant planning and exercising before the mission began (McDevitt, 2006, pp. 7–11).

[61] According to Lieutenant Colonel John Frewen, the lead representative to RAMSI from the Australian Defence Force,

> We had learned from Bougainville never to have weapons turned in and take them away. The people think you are taking them and giving them to their enemies. So we cut them up in front of them. We let people come out of the crowd and cut them up. It was hugely popular. (Glenn, 2007, p. 25)

[62] Fullilove (2006, p. 9). For more on the weapon amnesty, see McDevitt (2006, pp. 14–15).

former police officer named Harold Keke voluntarily surrendered after several meetings with RAMSI leaders, an event that was widely seen as a signal of the strength and effectiveness of the mission.[63] As one Solomon Islands official said, arresting Keke was seen as "a killer blow—if RAMSI could get Keke, they could do anything."[64] By March 2004, RAMSI had arrested more than 50 former militants in Guadalcanal and Malaita for crimes that included mass murder, kidnapping, rape, and robbery.[65] RAMSI's initial presence was later described as having a circuit-breaking effect on the cycle of violence.[66] RAMSI's large military component played a vital role in the PPF's early successes. In mid-2004, special coordinator Nick Warner reflected that

> we came in with a very large potent military force. . . . We did that quite deliberately so that we didn't have to use military force during this operation, and it worked. We got the attention very quickly of the militants and the thugs and the criminals and they made a very correct strategic decision—that is, it was better to cooperate with us than to take us on.[67]

RAMSI reestablished law and order quickly and successfully. These efforts proceeded so well that RAMSI military forces started withdrawing from the Solomon Islands in late October, only three months after the first military forces had arrived. Soon, the initial military deployment of 1,800 personnel had been reduced to a small, steady-state deployment of only 60 to 70 personnel.[68]

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[63] Glenn (2007, pp. 29–32); McDevitt (2006, pp. 12–14).

[64] Quoted in Fullilove (2006, p. 9).

[65] Ponzio (2005, pp. 179–180).

[66] This was the conclusion reached by the Eminent Persons Group, a group assembled by the Pacific Islands Forum to review RAMSI in early 2005. See Pacific Islands Forum Eminent Persons Group, *Mission Helpem Fren: A Review of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands*, May 2005, p. 8.

[67] Quoted in Fullilove (2006, p. 17).

[68] These military personnel were drawn in rotation from Australia, New Zealand, Tonga, Papua New Guinea, and Fiji (Fullilove, 2006, p. 8).

Although RAMSI reestablished law and order quite quickly, some setbacks did occur. In December 2004, a sniper intentionally shot and killed a member of the Australian Federal Police Protective Service participating in RAMSI, showing that resentment did persist in some segments of the local population.[69] The Australian government responded quickly to this attack by sending 100 rapid-response military troops to Honiara in an effort to demonstrate resolve and deter any further attacks.[70] This seems to have been successful, since no further attacks on RAMSI personnel have occurred, but at least one analyst has warned that instances of discontent and small uprisings are not reported in the media, masking the degree of discontent among the population.[71] Yet regardless of these concerns, RAMSI has achieved a remarkable restoration of basic law and order. In 2006, the World Bank ranked the Solomon Islands in the 51st percentile worldwide on indicators of political stability and absence of violence—an improvement of more than 30 percentage points since 2000.[72]

The only significant breakdown of law and order occurred in April 2006, when large riots erupted in downtown Honiara. The riots were triggered when the parliament chose former Deputy Prime Minister Snyder Rini as the new prime minister after national elections. Rini was a symbol of continuity with the previous government and was also viewed as being tied to Asian corruption networks in the Solomon Islands.[73] As Rini was delivering his acceptance speech, the 600 Solomon Islanders who had gathered at the parliament to hear the election

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[69] Wainwright (2005, p. 4).

[70] Glenn (2007, pp. 36–37); "Security, Solomon Islands," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment*, June 5, 2007.

[71] Clive Moore, "The RAMSI Intervention in the Solomon Islands Crisis," *Journal of Pacific Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2005, p. 61.

[72] World Bank, Worldwide Governance Indicators, 1996–2006.

[73] Long-term tension and resentment persist between native Solomon Islanders and the Asian populations (including Taiwanese, Japanese, Koreans, Malaysians, and Filipinos) in the country. Many of these Asian groups operate corrupt networks in the fishing and logging industries, which are two of the main industries in the Solomon Islands. For more on this, see Moore (2006) and "Internal Affairs: Solomon Islands," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment*, June 7, 2007a.

results started throwing rocks at the building. The rioters were dispersed with tear gas, but rioting and looting spread through parts of Honiara that evening and into the next day. Attacks were particularly severe in the Chinatown area of the city, where many Chinese and other Asian businesses were burned down.[74]

RAMSI responded by quickly bolstering its security forces. Australia deployed a 110-person infantry company and 66 additional police personnel, New Zealand sent 25 additional military and 30 additional police personnel, and Fiji deployed 20 members of its tactical response team.[75] RAMSI also imposed a dawn-to-dusk curfew in Honiara to try to stop the violence. These measures were generally successful. The crisis was resolved eight days later, when six members of parliament changed their votes and the Rini government fell. This was widely seen as a victory for the opposition and defused the violence. Manasseh Sogavare was elected as the new prime minister, and one of his first actions in office was to extend RAMSI's mandate in an effort to further stabilize the situation.[76]

Subsequent analyses of the riots concluded that they were partly premeditated and criticized RAMSI for not being prepared to respond. The rioters were very specific in their destruction, focusing their violence on businesses and property rather than individuals; there were no fatalities.[77] The police commissioner claimed that his forces had no prior intelligence of possible problems, but past prime-ministerial

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[74] Jon Fraenkel, "The Impact of RAMSI on the 2006 Elections in Solomon Islands," University of the South Pacific, undated. Michael G. Morgan and Abby McLeod argue that Chinese storekeepers were a particularly attractive target for the rioters because of the perception that they grew rich at the expense of the Solomon Islanders. Yet they note that the stores owned by the richest Chinese businesspeople were not attacked, since they could afford protection against the rioters. They conclude, "The primary victims of the violence, therefore, were the weakest, most vulnerable sections of the Chinese community, including very recent immigrants and poorer sections of the longer standing diasporas" (Michael G. Morgan and Abby McLeod, "Have We Failed Our Neighbour?" *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, No. 3, September 2006, p. 422).

[75] Robert Karniol, "Security Forces Deploy to the Solomon Islands," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, April 26, 2006.

[76] "Security, Solomon Islands" (2007).

[77] Morgan and McLeod (2006, p. 422).

elections had led to violence and the deployment of additional officers to the parliament area and Chinatown had previously been standard practice for the RSIP.[78] This incident seems to have been tied to the specific electoral issue at stake rather than representative of a broader reversal of RAMSI's considerable security achievements. No further major violent incidents have occurred as of this writing.

Rebuilding the RSIP. RAMSI acted quickly to purge the RSIP of personnel involved in corruption, criminal activities, or armed militias. More than 100 members of the RSIP were arrested and charged with more than 400 crimes, including corruption, murder, assault, intimidation, robbery, and the inappropriate use of firearms.[79] RAMSI investigations revealed that the RSIP had received more than US$8.5 million in illegal payments in the previous few years. RAMSI also took steps to remove the "special constables," members of the Malaita Eagle Force who had joined the RSIP after ratification of the TPA. Some of the special constables were arrested and charged, while others were fired and received small payments for job retraining.[80] By February 2004, RAMSI had arrested or fired more than 400 police officers—more than a quarter of the RSIP's total officer corps—including two deputy commissioners in addition to lower-ranked officers.[81]

Purging the RSIP proved far easier than rebuilding it. Progress has proceeded slowly, despite intense RAMSI efforts. Members of the PPF have conducted joint patrols and community policing efforts with the RSIP, and they have closely cooperated on a number of criminal investigations.[82] RAMSI has also emphasized the importance of training at all levels. It thoroughly overhauled the Solomon Islands Police Academy and worked with the Australian Institute of Police Man-

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[78] Fraenkel (undated, p. 22). Clive Moore (2006, p. 17) dryly noted that the police should have known that violence in these areas was likely, because "even a football game at the sports ground near Chinatown can lead to riots in Chinatown."

[79] Fullilove (2006, p. 9); "Security and Foreign Forces, Solomon Islands" (2007).

[80] "Security and Foreign Forces, Solomon Islands" (2007).

[81] Wainwright (2005, p. 3); Ponzio (2005, p. 180).

[82] Wainwright (2005, p. 3).

agement to create a leadership-development program for the RSIP.[83] New recruits were gradually brought in to build up the size of the police force. By June 2007, the RSIP had a total strength of about 700 personnel.[84]

Despite these notable achievements, RAMSI personnel have consistently expressed frustration with the slow pace of reform. They have been particularly frustrated by difficulties in engaging RSIP members in the reform process and encouraging them to show initiative and act independently. A common saying in the Solomon Islands is *waitem alketa RAMSI bae kem stretem*, or "wait for RAMSI to come and do it."[85] This has created a cycle of dependency: RAMSI personnel who are frustrated with the slow pace of RSIP involvement and the quality of its work often choose to do things themselves, thereby creating more incentives for the RSIP to rely on RAMSI.[86]

Part of this may simply be human nature: that it is easier to rely on others to do things than to do them yourself—particularly when the others are more capable than you are. Yet it also reflects a deep confusion regarding the changes that RAMSI has adopted. RAMSI has emphasized bureaucratic institutions and formal procedures that are unfamiliar in a country in which power and authority are traditionally exercised through informal structures. While RAMSI personnel complain about the slow pace of reform, many RSIP members complain that reform has proceeded too quickly and is too unfamiliar.[87] This reinforces the cycle of dependency on outside forces.

The extent of direct RAMSI involvement in the RSIP has bred increasing local resentment. A RAMSI official had served as the Solomon Islands police commissioner ever since the mission started in 2003, but in December 2006, the Australian citizen holding that posi-

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[83] Mary Louise O'Callaghan, "RAMSI: The Challenges Ahead," paper presented at Solomon Islands: Where to Now? Australian National University, May 5, 2006; McDevitt (2006, pp. 16–17).

[84] "Security and Foreign Forces, Solomon Islands" (2007).

[85] Peake and Brown (2005, p. 531).

[86] Peake and Brown (2005, pp. 525–526).

[87] Peake and Brown (2005, p. 527).

tion was declared an "undesirable immigrant" while he was out of the country and was not allowed to return.[88] The position remained vacant until May 2007, when a Fijian citizen was appointed to replace him. This appointment triggered protests from several civil-society groups that wanted a Solomon Islander to be appointed to the position.[89] So far, these protests have remained peaceful and limited, but they do suggest that popular tolerance for RAMSI's direct role in the RSIP is declining.

Rebuilding the Legal and Justice Systems. The third element of RAMSI's efforts to rebuild security structures is the Law and Justice Program, funded by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and New Zealand's international aid and development agency, NZAID, which are jointly providing AU$29 million (approximately US$26 million) for the program's activities in 2007–2008. It focuses primarily on supporting the justice and correctional sectors to help process the large caseload resulting from RAMSI's arrests since 2003. AusAID funds the construction of facilities, such as prisons, and approximately 100 long-term placements of technical experts in the law and justice sector, with about half of those in the Solomon Islands Prison Service. Some serve in an advisory capacity, while others serve directly in the government.[90] The program has also provided magistrates, prosecutors, and defenders to the court system; the positions of solicitor general and public solicitor are held by RAMSI personnel.[91] Australia also provides bilateral support to the law and justice sector. It is in the process of implementing a strategic framework that was approved by the Solomon Islands parliament in 2005 and that focuses on improving the institutional capacity of the justice sector.[92] As with the RSIP reforms, there are some concerns that these programs empha-

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[88] "Security and Foreign Forces, Solomon Islands" (2007).

[89] These groups also wanted the position of attorney general to be filled by a Solomon Islander instead of by a RAMSI official ("Solomon Islands' Police Commissioner Appointment Raises Opposition," *Jane's Country Risk Daily Report*, June 14, 2007).

[90] AusAID, "Aid Activities in Solomon Islands," Web page, last updated September 2007.

[91] Wainwright (2005, p. 3).

[92] AusAID (2007).

size formal structures at the expense of traditional, informal practices and that they therefore may have trouble being sustained over the long term.[93]

Humanitarian

There was no immediate humanitarian crisis in the Solomon Islands once RAMSI intervened, and many IDPs returned to their homes. The public health sector, however, was performing poorly; it relied heavily on outside donors for funding.[94] RAMSI was not directly involved in the health sector, but Australia has provided financial support for the provision of basic health services. Since 2001, Australia has funded and managed the Health Sector Trust Account, which the Solomon Islands Ministry of Health uses to provide health services throughout the country. Australia has recently established the Health Sector Support Program to ensure that donor programs are aligned with national strategic plans. Australia spent approximately AU$55 million (almost US$50 million, at current exchange rates) in this area between 2001 and 2007, and estimates that it will spend another AU$50 million to AU$55 million between 2007 and 2012. Australia also sponsored a program from 2001 to 2007 to strengthen management of the health care sector at a total cost of AU$20 million (US$18.1 million).[95]

Governance and Civil Administration

Promoting effective governance was a key element of the second and third phases of the RAMSI intervention. RAMSI sponsors an ongoing program on the machinery of government, which focuses on five areas:

- effective cabinet and parliamentary processes: strengthening decisionmaking processes and ensuring coordination across the government

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[93] Peake and Brown (2005, p. 527); Kabutaulaka (2005, p. 301).

[94] Pacific Islands Forum Eminent Persons Group (2005, p. 22).

[95] AusAID (2007).

- reforming public service: improving planning, strengthening management systems, and improving recruitment and training of government officials
- accountability mechanisms and institutions: strengthening the Office of the Auditor General, the Leadership Code Commission, and the ombudsman's office, among others
- electoral and civic education: conducting programs to ensure free and fair elections and supporting civic education about how elections are run
- improving provincial administration: strengthening provincial governance structures and improving cooperation with the national government.[96]

The Australian contribution to this program from 2007 to 2008 is estimated at AU$20.5 million (US$18.5 million).[97]

One of the most controversial aspects of RAMSI's approach has been in putting its personnel directly into government ministries. Some RAMSI civilians work directly for the ministries in line positions, much as RAMSI police officers work directly for the RSIP. In 2006, more than 100 civilian personnel worked for the ministries in either advisory or line positions.[98] This arrangement has often been criticized as an intrusion on the sovereignty of the Solomon Islands and as preventing the development of indigenous governance capacity. Yet RAMSI officials counter that these arrangements were necessary to infuse the bureaucracy with immediate capacity and that they have not been able to significantly reduce the numbers of those personnel because of a lack of effective counterparting arrangements.[99] In 2005, a joint consultative forum was established between the RAMSI special

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[96] RAMSI, RAMSI's program areas, Web page, undated.

[97] AusAID (2007).

[98] Fullilove (2006, p. 8).

[99] This view was supported by the Eminent Persons Group in early 2005. It noted,

> [T]he Government has failed to provide a local counterparting arrangement to RAMSI of a kind to enable RAMSI to implement capacity building in the institutions where it extends civilian influence. As a result of this failure, in our view, RAMSI has been

coordinator and the secretary to the prime minister to help improve such arrangements, but progress has been slow.[100] RAMSI continues to place many of its personnel directly into the ministries, which continues to breed local resentment, at least from people who view themselves as prospective candidates for these jobs.

RAMSI faces a daunting challenge in the governance area. Its legitimacy comes from the continuing consent of the government, but many government officials and other elites benefit from the culture of corruption that RAMSI is trying to eliminate. RAMSI therefore has to tread carefully, addressing the corruption and other governance issues without creating a backlash among the elites whom it targets. To date, RAMSI has performed this balancing act quite well. The Joint Corruption Task Force has not shied away from investigating senior political officials and other elites. Support for RAMSI in the parliament and among the public remains high. Yet the mission remains vulnerable to potential shifts in the political situation, particularly if a few senior officials withdraw their support for RAMSI when their financial interests are directly threatened.[101] And the scope of the task should not be underestimated. In 2006, the World Bank ranked government effectiveness in the Solomon Islands in the bottom 18 percent worldwide and ranked rule of law in the country in the bottom 20 percent.[102]

Democratization

Most initiatives in this area have focused on improving elections and ensuring that they are free and fair. Significant changes were made to the electoral process before the April 2006 parliamentary elections. One clear success was changing the method of voting. In past elec-

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unjustly criticised for failing to embrace local arrangements for its civilian personnel in line Departments. (Pacific Islands Forum Eminent Persons Group, 2005, p. 6)

[100] O'Callaghan (2006).

[101] Wainwright (2005, p. 5). Morgan and McLeod (2006, p. 423) argue that what Westerners see as corruption and nepotism is actually an inherent part of the informal welfare system of the Solomon Islands and therefore can never be completely eliminated.

[102] These figures do show some progress from the 2000 rankings of 12 percent and 2 percent, respectively (World Bank, 1996–2006).

tions, Solomon Islanders had used a system of multiple ballot boxes: boxes for each candidate were located in different rooms, and voters had to walk into the room of their preferred candidate to deposit their ballot—a system that was obviously rife with the potential for corruption.[103] In April 2006, voters instead marked their ballots behind a private screen and then deposited them into a single ballot box in the open area of the polling station.[104]

The April 2006 elections revealed several problems with the electoral process that will need to be addressed in future elections. First, the electoral rolls were suspect. There were 342,119 registered voters for the April 2006 elections, which, given a total population of 470,681 citizens, would imply that 73 percent of the population was eligible to vote—yet half of the country's population is under the minimum voting age of 18. This means that even if every eligible adult registered to vote—a dubious proposition at best—there were still more than 100,000 ineligible names on the electoral rolls.[105] Second, the electoral districts were determined during the country's last census in 1999, before much of the violence and internal displacement occurred. As a result, the districts are now extremely imbalanced. In 2006, the smallest electoral district included 2,345 voters, and the largest included more than 30,000 voters. Since each of the country's 50 electoral districts selects one member of parliament, this unequal distribution undermines the principle that each person's vote counts equally.[106]

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[103] The Pacific Islands Forum observer team for the elections noted that

> the system eased opportunities for vote-buying, and in many cases the casting of the ballot was far from secret. . . . [V]oters were known to obtain ballots from the Presiding Officer, pass through the polling booths without depositing these and instead sell them outside the polling stations to candidates or their supporters. Ballots were then carried into the concealed room by an agent and deposited *en bloc* into one candidate's ballot box. (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, "Solomon Islands National Election 5 April 2006: Report of the Pacific Islands Forum Observer Team," 2006, p. 6. Emphasis in original.)

[104] Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2006, p. 3).

[105] There were no efforts to clean the voter rolls before the April 2006 elections to account for those who were deceased or had changed constituencies (Fraenkel, undated, p. 203).

[106] Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2006, pp. 8–9).

The political party system is fairly unstable. Parties do exist, but they coalesce largely around charismatic leaders rather than a particular political philosophy. As a result, party allegiance is fluid. Parliamentarians rely on personal connections with constituents. Many candidates stand for elections—there were an average of nine candidates per district in April 2006, but many of them were unaffiliated with any political parties. Independents won 30 out of the 50 seats at stake in that election, and the remaining 20 seats were divided among the nine competing political parties.[107] Furthermore, the fact that the Solomon Islands has a first-past-the-post system means that the winning candidate needs only a small percentage of the vote to win. Only two of the 50 members of parliament elected in April 2006 had received a majority of the vote; most received somewhere between 20 and 30 percent.[108] Once in government, these parliamentarians are rarely constrained by party programs or ideology. They often switch parties for personal rather than philosophical reasons.[109] In August 2006, in an effort to promote political stability, parliament passed a bill that made it harder for its members to switch parties.[110]

There has also been discussion in the Solomon Islands about rewriting the constitution to devolve some powers to the provinces. The current system gives the central government a great deal of control over the provinces. A move toward federalism could help defuse ethnic tensions by providing local autonomy.[111] A draft constitution circulating throughout the country in 2005 would have provided for more autonomous provinces. Most politicians publicly supported it but expressed

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[107] Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2006, pp. 6–7); Fraenkel (undated, p. 10); Freedom House (2007, p. 15).

[108] Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2006, pp. 6–7); Fraenkel (undated, p. 10).

[109] Morgan and McLeod (2006, pp. 416–417) argue that this is a common pattern in the region: "[G]overnments have changed in Melanesia not at the ballot box but on the floor of the parliament, through coalition changes, reshuffled, and motions of no confidence."

[110] Freedom House (2007).

[111] Wainwright (2003a, pp. 44–45).

significant reservations about it in private.[112] No formal efforts have been made to adopt this draft constitution as of this writing.

Economic Development

RAMSI's intervention led to immediate improvements in the Solomon Islands' economy. GDP grew 5.5 percent in 2004—the fastest rate among all members of the PIF—though there were some concerns that this increase was driven by RAMSI spending rather than indigenous economic developments.[113] Government revenue grew by more than 260 percent from 2002 to 2006 because of better tax compliance and increased customs revenues. Inflation dropped by almost half between 2003 and 2004, as the government balanced its budget in 2004, 2005, and 2006.[114]

Long-term economic prospects for the Solomon Islands remain less clear. Recent economic growth has relied largely on increases in fishing, agriculture, and, especially, logging, which are proceeding at unsustainable rates. Logging poses particular problems. It is a highly lucrative industry, which increases the incentives for unsustainable practices. Since logs are the country's single largest export, the economy is highly vulnerable to changes in this sector. Moving logging practices to more sustainable patterns could significantly reduce growth.[115] Rapid population growth also has the potential to reduce living standards throughout the country, even if economic growth rates accelerate.[116]

RAMSI is attempting to address some of these problems through two initiatives that have been funded by a combined total of almost

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[112] Moore (2005, pp. 73–74).

[113] Pacific Islands Forum Eminent Persons Group (2005, pp. 8–9). The group also noted that this increase occurred against the backdrop of a 25-percent decline in GDP during the period of conflict.

[114] Pacific Islands Forum Eminent Persons Group (2005, pp. 8–9); RAMSI Performance Assessment Advisory Team, *Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) Annual Performance Report 2005/06*, July 2006, p. 4; AusAID (2007).

[115] Moore (2005, p. 58); Pacific Islands Forum Eminent Persons Group (2005, pp. 22–23). For a history of the logging industry in the Solomon Islands, see Moore (2006).

[116] Fullilove (2006, p. 10). According to the CIA's *World Factbook*, the Solomon Islands had a population growth rate of 2.54 percent in 2007 (CIA, 2007).

AU$18 million (US$16 million) in 2007–2008. It sponsors an economic governance program, which places advisers and personnel into the ministries of finance and the treasury to improve fiscal and financial practices. These efforts have led to improvements in the budget process, tax-revenue collection, and regularizing public debt. It supports the Economic Reform Unit, which focuses on longer-term issues, such as promoting foreign investment, increasing competition in certain sectors, and extending banking services. It also helps strengthen the Central Bank of Solomon Islands and the National Statistics Office. The second program promotes broad-based growth and rural development. It includes an initiative to improve roads throughout the country so that isolated communities can access markets and services. It also supports the Agriculture and Rural Development Strategy that the Solomon Islands government adopted in 2007. The government plans to implement a new rural development program in 2008.[117]

Lessons Learned

The Australian government had clearly collected and integrated many of the best practices developed by the international community over the previous decade in designing this nation-building intervention. These included putting security first, establishing legitimacy (in this case, based on a local invitation and regional participation), unity of command, heavy use of international police, super-sizing the initial military contingent, deploying a full range of civil capabilities, and planning for the long haul.

Australia also introduced three innovations that might have future application elsewhere:

- planning and *budgeting* for a 10-year operation
- swearing international police into the local police force and putting international officials directly into the local bureaucracy
- basing its presence exclusively on a local invitation.

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[117] AusAID (2007).

The success of RAMSI to date undoubtedly owes much to the scale and duration of the Australian effort; to its successful adaptation of lessons learned in prior U.S.-, European-, and UN-led operations; and, perhaps, to these three innovations as well.

RAMSI's single most important advantage has been the extent of Australia's involvement in the mission. Australia made a long-term commitment to the Solomon Islands from the mission's outset, including substantial financial and human resources over a 10-year time frame. The ASPI report that was so influential in galvanizing government and public support in Australia estimated that the mission would cost a total of AU$853 million (US$554 million at 2003 exchange rates) over the following 10 years and that Australia should assume that it would provide about half that sum.[118] When the mission started in 2003, the Australian government earmarked almost AU$700 million (US$455 million) for the process of rebuilding the Solomon Islands over a 10-year time frame.[119] This was an extraordinary up-front commitment, particularly for a country with a population of only 20 million people. Gordon Peake and Kaysie Studdard Brown have concluded that, as a result of this substantial commitment, RAMSI "brings resources to state-building in the Solomons far beyond the state-generated revenue and the sums available to previous assistance programs."[120]

RAMSI also benefited from the fact that Australia is a relatively small country. The all-encompassing nature of the mission required that the lead nation be involved in almost every aspect of security and governance matters, which inevitably involved a wide range of Australian government departments. Interdepartmental conflicts did occur, especially since this was the first time that Australia had ever mounted a mission of this scope. Yet the bureaucracy was small enough, and personal networks and relationships were robust enough, to settle many of

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[118] This would mean that Australia would provide an average of AU$40 million–AU$45 million (US$26 million–US$29 million in 2003) per year (Wainwright, 2003a, p. 47).

[119] Peake and Brown (2005, p. 524). Some of these funds may have been allocated to bilateral assistance programs rather than directly to RAMSI, which might explain why the figure is substantially higher than the one contained in the ASPI report.

[120] Peake and Brown (2005, p. 524).

these conflicts informally and to create unity of effort. This dynamic also eased some of the inevitable tensions that arose between the capital and the field, since personnel in Canberra and those deployed in the Solomon Islands often knew each other well.[121] One Australian think tank noted that "Australia has some advantages in mounting this kind of operation: it is large enough to deploy people, assets and resources at scale, but small enough that personal connections are ubiquitous and collegial habits maintained."[122]

The most controversial aspect of RAMSI has been its policy of putting personnel directly into government positions, particularly very senior positions, such as the police commissioner and the accountant general. RAMSI officials, and some Solomon Islanders, argue that this arrangement is essential for the country's government to function at all. Vacancy rates in the public-service sector have been fairly high, with as many as 20 percent of available positions unfilled. RAMSI often needed to fill key positions with its personnel to restore government services. The PIF's Eminent Persons Group concluded in 2005, for example, that improvements in financial stability, the economy, and health services were due to RAMSI personnel both serving directly in the government and providing advisory support.[123]

Yet there is one obvious drawback to this arrangement: It raises questions about the sustainability of these achievements over the long term. RAMSI has taken steps to improve the recruiting, training, and capacity of the public service and to establish counterparting programs, but the presence of RAMSI officials in government positions may breed dependence and limit the professional development of public-service personnel. It also increases resentment among Solomon Islanders—and particularly among the unemployed—who believe that locals should fill those jobs instead of outsiders.[124]

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[121] Glenn (2007, pp. xiv, 59–68, 81–94).

[122] Fullilove (2006, p. 13). Fullilove attributes this insight to an unnamed Australian official. For more on the importance of personal relationships among senior RAMSI officials, see Glenn (2007, pp. 126–129).

[123] Pacific Islands Forum Eminent Persons Group (2005, pp. 12–13).

[124] "Security, Solomon Islands" (2007).

RAMSI was widely applauded for its immediate efforts to restore law and order. But as the mission moved into the consolidation and sustainability phases, it adopted a wide range of intrusive reforms that did not always provide visible or tangible results and often failed to meet expectations for immediate improvements. Frustrations are particularly high in rural areas of the country, where the vast majority of people continue to live in poverty and lack basic services. RAMSI's current objectives of improving government operations and eliminating corruption will necessarily involve challenging the interests of a wide range of elites who benefit from the current system.[125] This means that RAMSI may actually become less popular as it becomes more effective, which could paradoxically lead to increased pressure to withdraw.

In the first three years of the mission, government officials steadfastly supported RAMSI and its efforts. In 2005, for example, the prime minister dismissed two cabinet members from the government for criticizing the extensive nature of the RAMSI intervention.[126] The government of Prime Minister Sogavare, which took power after the April 2006 elections, has been far less supportive. Sogavare had criticized RAMSI since its inception and charged that government ministers had become "puppets of foreign governments."[127] He does not completely oppose the mission—in fact, one of his first acts as prime minister was to extend RAMSI's mandate[128]—but he has consistently urged RAMSI to set a timetable for withdrawal. Increasing resistance from the Solomon Islands government would make it even more challenging for RAMSI to successfully achieve its objectives. It would also risk generating a public backlash in Australia, making Australian citizens wonder why their government continues to invest so much time, money, and effort in a country whose people and government increasingly oppose the mission.

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[125] "Security, Solomon Islands" (2007).

[126] "Security, Solomon Islands" (2007).

[127] Sogavare quoted in Fraenkel (undated, pp. 8–9).

[128] Notably, Sogavare chose not to involve parliament in the mandate-extension process, which indicates increasing opposition to RAMSI among the political elite ("Solomon Islands to Extend RAMSI Mandate," *Jane's Intelligence Watch Report Daily Update*, July 19, 2006).

Australia balanced its lead-nation role with effective multinational representation, which gave RAMSI a degree of legitimacy in the Solomon Islands that a unilateral mission would have lacked. It is not clear whether the Solomon Islands parliament would have consented to a unilateral Australian mission, which would likely have been interpreted as the strongest regional state pursuing a neocolonial agenda.[129] Instead, Australia deliberately crafted an explicitly multinational coalition and secured the endorsement of the PIF, even though that organization has no legal mandate to authorize such missions. As a result, RAMSI was able to take advantage of all the advantages of extensive Australian involvement—including its effective command-and-control systems and rapid-deployment capabilities—while also benefiting from the additional contributions and, particularly, from the legitimacy that multinational missions entail.[130] RAMSI did face some challenges in integrating all its national components, as all multinational missions do, but these were generally resolved without any adverse operational consequences.

Nevertheless, the failure to secure a UN mandate for the operation does make its continuation entirely dependent on the vagaries of local politics. It also puts the burden of sustaining that mandate entirely on local politicians, who cannot point to a UNSC resolution to excuse to their voters their obvious cessation of sovereign powers. Australian peak at the failure of the UNSC to endorse the Iraq intervention may explain this. While it seems likely that most future nation-builders will seek such a mandate, the Solomons example does serve as a reminder that an alternative is sometimes available if the UN proves unable to act.

Finally, the Solomon Islands operation, so well planned, abundantly resourced, and skillfully executed, is a reminder of how daunting the prospect of nation-building is, even in the most favorable of circumstances. RAMSI's long-term prognosis remains unclear. The first phase of the operation, the immediate restoration of law and order,

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[129]These concerns were also eased by the fact that RAMSI was a police-led mission. Military forces were used in substantial numbers only at the outset of the mission, and even then they functioned in a supporting role.

[130]Bellamy and Williams (2005, pp. 187–189).

was unquestionably successful. Yet the second and third phases of the operation, which seek fundamental changes in the way the country is governed, have a more mixed record to date. It is too soon to judge the success in the mission, since it is not even at the halfway point of its expected lifespan, but the progress that has been made is counterbalanced with continuing challenges and questions about what the mission will be able to achieve in the long term. The case of the Solomon Islands shows that nation-building is an enormously challenging enterprise even under the seemingly best of circumstances.

Comparative Analysis

Although each nation-building mission takes place in a unique environment, most of the objectives and instruments remain the same from one operation to the next. In this chapter, we draw on the case studies from this and our previous two volumes to tabulate and compare levels of inputs provided by the international community (such as military personnel, police officers, aid, and time) and outcomes (such as improvements in security, economic growth, refugee returns, and progress in creating a democracy).

The outcomes of nation-building operations are the result of much more than the quantity of inputs. Success depends on the wisdom with which such resources are employed and on the willingness of the society in question to pursue the changes being fostered. Some strategies work better than others, and some societies and leaders are more amenable to change. Willingness to change also depends on the conditions within and around a country when nation-building begins, such as the degree of ethnic homogeneity, the colonial legacy, the preexistence of a functioning state, and the attitude of neighboring powers.[1] That said, the level of effort expended, in terms of military strength and economic assistance over time, affects the chances of success. We therefore

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[1] Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006; Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 1, February 2003; Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94, No. 4, December 2000.

focus in this chapter on factors that intervening authorities are able to control, even though we recognize that starting conditions also affect, perhaps even more strongly, the eventual outcomes.

The first volume of this series compared inputs and outcomes for eight U.S.-led nation-building missions: Germany, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The second compared inputs and outcomes for those original eight cases, plus eight more UN-led nation-building missions: the Belgian Congo, Namibia, El Salvador, Cambodia, Mozambique, Eastern Slavonia, Sierra Leone, and East Timor.[2] This volume incorporates the data from those cases with findings from the European and Australian cases examined here.[3] The incorporation of data from these previous studies yields a total of 22 case studies from which to draw, with some overlap. For instance, we now have two Congo cases, the UN effort in the 1960s and the UN- and European-led effort in the current decade. Similarly, we have two Bosnia cases, the U.S./NATO-led phase in the late 1990s and the European-led phase in this decade. We treat Sierra Leone as one case, even though it was examined both in the previous UN-centered volume and in this one. We have reviewed and updated the data in the previous volumes and, in a few cases, corrected errors. The citations for the data can be found in the appendix.

As part of that analysis, we tabulated the following input measures:

- number of international troops per 1,000 inhabitants
- number of international police officers per 1,000 inhabitants
- length of the mission in months
- length of time from start of intervention to first election
- per capita foreign economic assistance in constant U.S. dollars.

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[2]   See Dobbins, McGinn, et al. (2003), and Dobbins, Jones, et al. (2005), respectively.

[3]   While we examined the European role in Sierra Leone in this volume, it was still predominantly a UN mission. Consequently, we coded Sierra Leone as a UN-led case, rather than European-led. Bosnia is treated herein for statistical purposes as two distinct cases, one covering the period from the signing of the Dayton accords to the assumption of lead responsibility by the EU, the second the period thereafter.

We employed the following measures of outcomes:

- international military casualties
- a qualitative measure of sustained peace
- the proportion of refugees who return in the first five years following the start of the intervention
- growth in per capita GDP in the first five years following the start of the intervention
- a qualitative assessment of representative government.

We are not suggesting that these are the only or even necessarily the best measures of effort and success, simply that they are the ones for which more or less reliable data were available.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first examines security in the 22 cases, comparing key inputs (military and civilian police presence) to outcomes (foreign military casualties, durability of peace, and the return of refugees and IDPs). The second section compares levels of economic assistance and growth in per capita GDP. The third examines the result of efforts to create and sustain a representative government.

Security

Military Presence

As Figure 9.1 shows, force levels in European operations were not as high as in U.S.- or NATO-led operations. The modest level of European forces was true in absolute terms and also for the size of the intervening force as a proportion of the local population. Figure 9.2 shows peak force levels per capita. The highest relative European troop levels were in Macedonia, where there was a peak of 2.4 soldiers per 1,000 Macedonians. It is not surprising that operations that involve both the United States and Europe should be able to generate greater military troop numbers than ones from which the United States is absent. European-led missions seldom deployed forces in the middle of heavy

Figure 9.1
Peak Military Presence
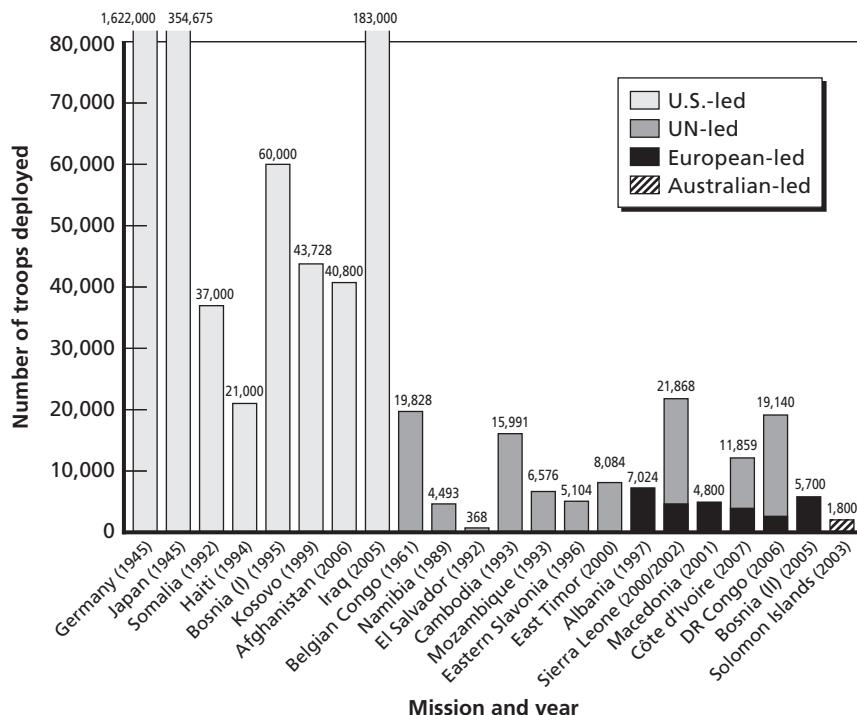
RAND *MG722-9.1*

fighting or conducted peace-enforcement operations that required forced entry. In this respect, European- and UN-led operations are similar.[4]

Civilian Police

International civilian police are an increasingly important component of most nation-building operations, in many cases representing

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[4]   In the following figures, we include European troop strength as a subcategory in the three missions in which European forces operated alongside a UN operation. In Sierra Leone, the peak UK troop level was 4,500; in Côte d'Ivoire, the peak French level was 3,800; and in the DRC, the peak EU level was 2,500. Note that in Sierra Leone, the peak UK troop level occurred in 2000, while the peak UN troop level occurred in 2002. The peak level of total troops was in 2002, when 17,368 UN and 100 UK troops were in the country.

Figure 9.2
Peak Military Presence Per Capita
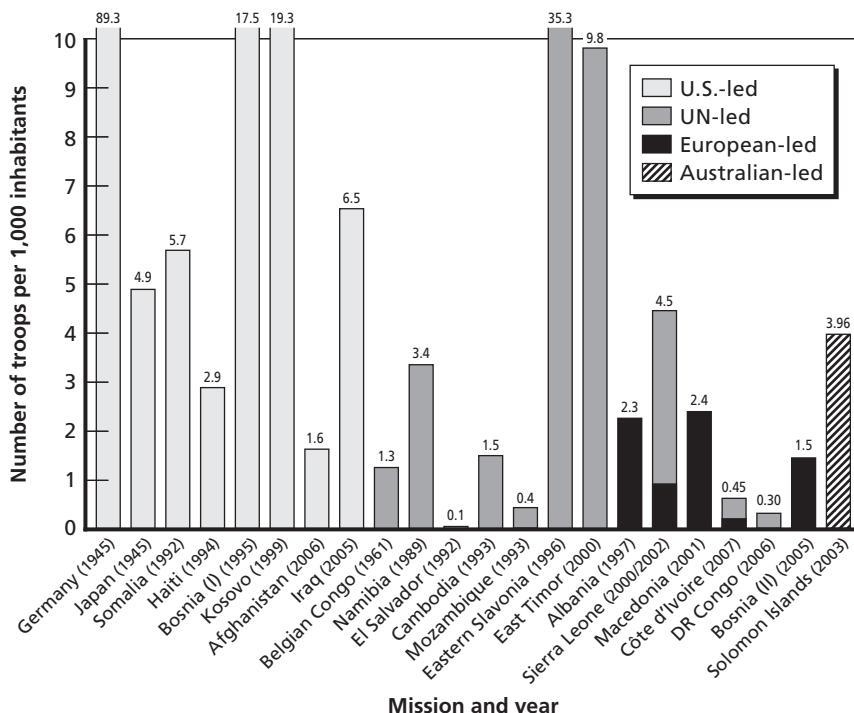
10 percent or more of the overall force. Among the European-led operations, Bosnia, Côte d'Ivoire, and the DRC all had more than 1,000 international civilian police officers (only in Bosnia were most of these European), while Albania had the smallest number at 241 (see Figure 9.3). Again, per capita numbers are more useful for illustrating the relative sizes of police contingents. As Figure 9.4 illustrates, the Solomon Islands, which was a police- rather than military-led peacekeeping operation, had the largest per capita presence, with an Australian civilian police presence of 0.66 police per 1,000 inhabitants. The DRC had the smallest per capita police presence at 0.02.

The United Nations routinely used larger numbers of civilian police per capita and as proportion of its overall force than did the United States or European countries. Of the five largest police

Figure 9.3
Peak Civilian Police Presence
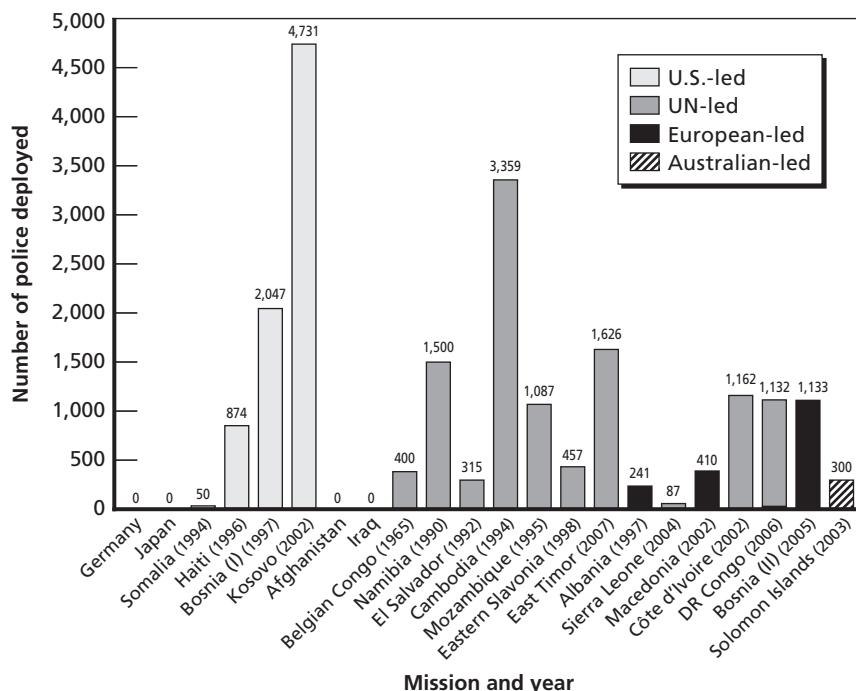
RAND *MG722-9.3*

operations, three were UN-led: Namibia, Eastern Slavonia, and East Timor. The remaining two were the operations in the Solomon Islands and Kosovo (where the police were UN-led). In Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States did not deploy any civilian police, relying instead on military police and civilian contractors with prior police experience for police training. The absence of international civil police in both countries increased the burden on U.S. and coalition military forces to handle public security and police-training functions. Figure 9.5 shows the police-to-military ratio of each operation.

Duration

In the early 1990s, nation-building operations were usually terminated more quickly than in recent years, often immediately following the first democratic election and the inauguration of a new government. In

Figure 9.4
Peak Civilian Police Presence Per Capita
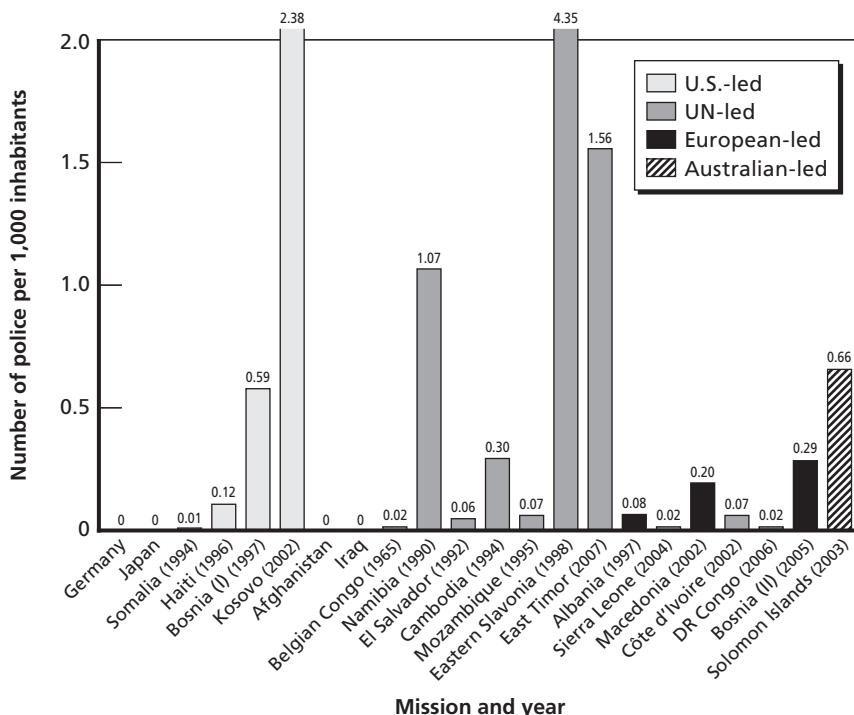
NOTE: All the civilian police in Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire were from the UN.
In the DRC, the EU deployed a small police contingent alongside the much larger
UN one.
RAND *MG722-9.4*

those early post–Cold War years, the United States and United Nations
tended to define their objectives more narrowly, focusing on exit strate-
gies and departure deadlines. As experience with nation-building grew,
the United States and the UN recognized that peace and democrati-
zation required building state institutions, rather than merely holding
elections. By the end of the decade, both U.S.- and UN-led nation-
building operations had become more extended, and peacekeeping
forces were drawn down more slowly. (See Figure 9.6.)

    By contrast, most European-led interventions have been short
lived. The Italian-led multinational force stayed in Albania for only one
year, and the two EU interventions in the Congo lasted approximately

Figure 9.5
Police-to-Military Ratio
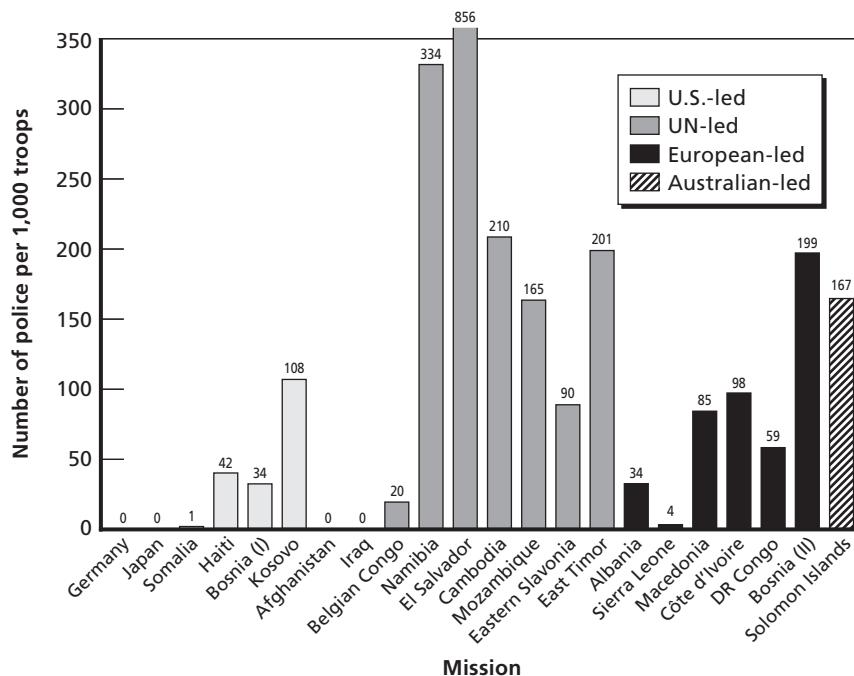
RAND *MG722-9.5*

one year *combined*. French troops, on the other hand, have remained in Côte d'Ivoire since the civil war broke out in 2002.

This is not to suggest that the presence of European military forces is always brief—simply that European-led interventions have so far tended to be so. The EU took over peacekeeping in Bosnia in 2004, but Europeans had provided the bulk of the UN and, later, NATO forces there since the early 1990s. Similarly, Europe has provided the bulk of the NATO force in Kosovo since 1999.

International Combat-Related Deaths

Combat-related deaths among the intervening force are the most generally available measure of the overall security environment. Missions with high numbers of combat deaths have been among the least successful. It would also be valuable to cite local crime rates, levels of

Figure 9.6
Duration of Operations
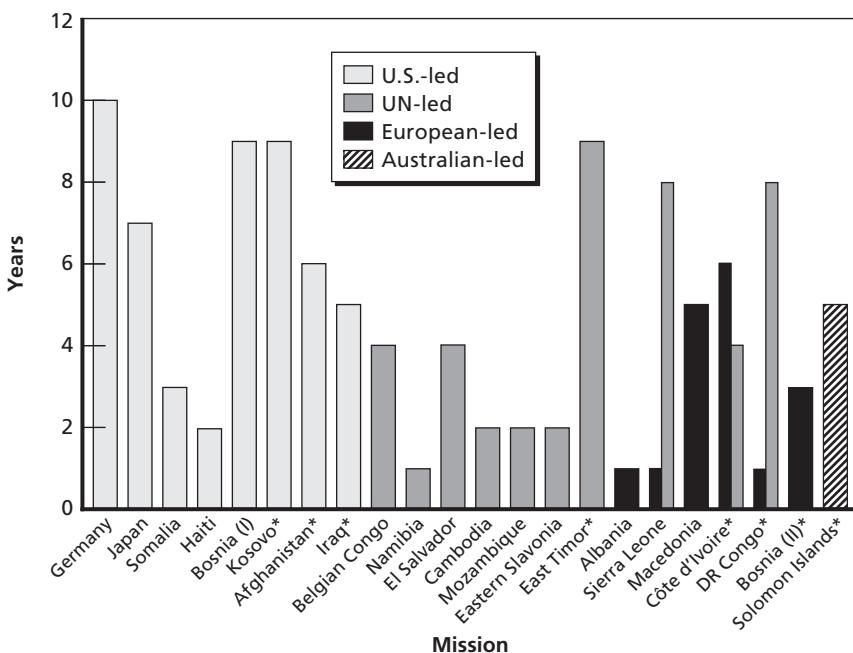
*Indicates ongoing operation.

RAND *MG722-9.6*

political violence, and numbers of civilian casualties, but reliable data on these categories are harder to come by.

With the exception of Côte d'Ivoire, European-led operations suffered almost no fatal casualties. All the casualties suffered in the DRC were to UN-led forces. All but one of the casualties in Sierra Leone were to UN-led troops. In Albania, there were no fatal casualties, in Macedonia only one. In Côte d'Ivoire, on the other hand, nearly all the casualties have been French. (See Figure 9.7.) The near total absence of fatal casualties in EU-led operations reflects the fact that, in most cases, the EU relied on some other organization to do the original pacification. It may also reflect some degree of risk aversion on the part of many European governments. While commendable in one sense, this risk aversion may foster an impression on the part of European publics that international peace operations do not and should not entail combat. In fact,

as the UN figures indicate, most peacekeeping operations do result in some, albeit generally low numbers of fatal casualties.

The United States went through its own period of high risk aversion in the 1990s. Following the loss of 18 U.S. soldiers in Somalia in 1993, the Clinton administration took great precautions to avoid any repetition of such losses. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, U.S. sensitivity to casualties diminished.

There is some correlation between low force-to-population ratios and high casualties, as there is between high casualties and lack of overall success. Larger forces, relative to population size, have a better prospect of deterring the emergence of armed resistance. If armed resistance does emerge, the chances of success go way down no matter how large

Figure 9.7
International Combat Deaths
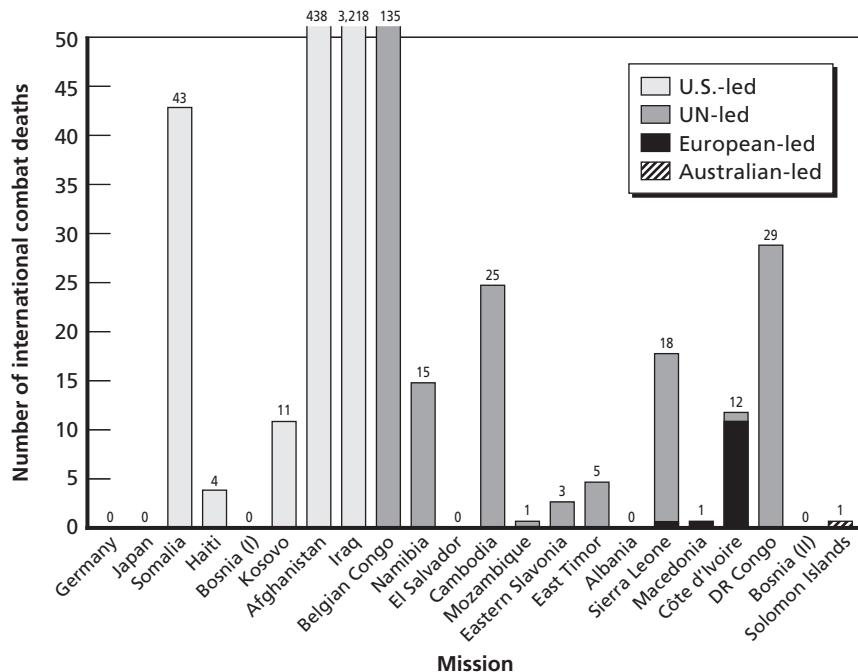
the intervening force. The EU-led operations with the lowest force-to-population ratios are Côte d'Ivoire and the DRC, which also have the highest number of casualties (albeit among Congolese, not Europeans, in the latter case). The correlation also applies to U.S.-led operations. Afghanistan, which has the lowest force-to-population ratio, has seen higher U.S. casualties than all six previous cases combined. Iraq, where the U.S.-led coalition is one-third the size, relative to population, of the NATO forces in Bosnia or Kosovo, has taken an even higher toll.

Some nation-building operations have been conducted successfully with very small peacekeeping forces, as in El Salvador. Clearly, the local situation is the most important factor in sizing any intervention. When some degree of resistance seems likely, however, larger forces tend to fare better than smaller ones. EU-led "battle groups," reinforced battalions of around 1,500 personnel, are unlikely to be very useful in such environments unless embedded in much larger forces led by some other organization or nation.

Return of Refugees

The return of refugees is a key indicator of security and a key objective for most nation-building operations. We used data from the UNHCR's Statistical Online Population Database to tabulate the proportion of refugees returned in the first five years following the commencement of each intervention. (See Figure 9.8.)

The proportions of refugees who returned in the European cases were generally much lower than the levels seen in U.S. or UN cases. Macedonia was the exception, with a 100-percent return rate. In Sierra Leone, the uncertain security situation resulted in an increase in refugees during the first, largely unsuccessful year of the UN operation. Only in the third and fourth years of the operation did sizable numbers of refugees feel comfortable returning home. Côte d'Ivoire and the DRC have remained at some level of conflict, discouraging refugee returns. Most of the Bosnian refugees who wished to return had done so before the EU assumed responsibility for security there. The number of refugees from Albania actually rose by 100 percent in the wake of the Italian-led operation, as noted previously. The

Figure 9.8
Percentage of Refugee Returns After Five Years
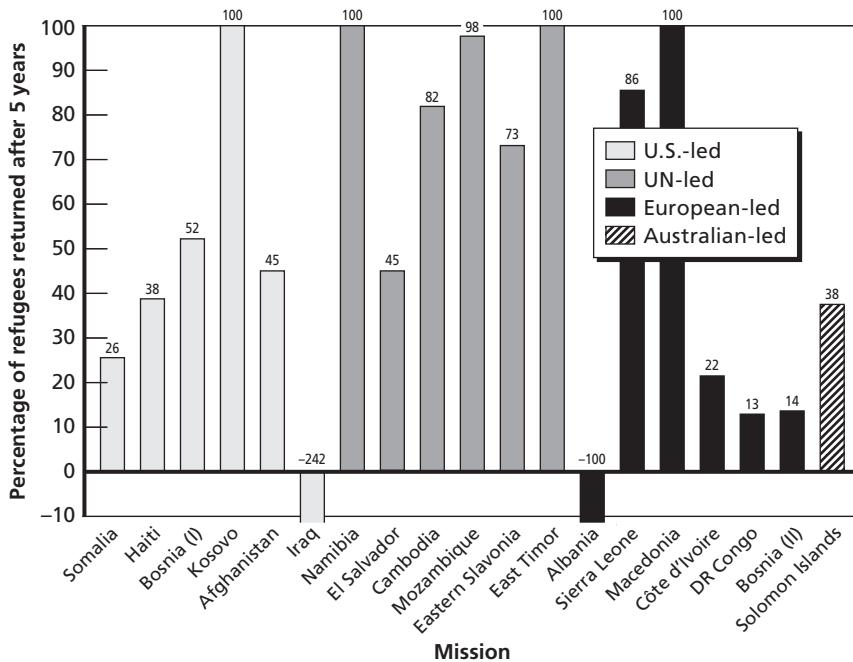
SOURCE: UNHCR Statistical Online Population Database.
RAND *MG722-9.8*

brevity of most European-led interventions may help explain their lower success rate as measured in refugee returns.

   If the percentage of refugees who return is low, this is usually a sign of continued conflict in the society in question. In some instances, such as Iraq and Albania, the number of refugees actually increased after the intervention. In Iraq, the violent insurgency that began after the U.S. overthrow of Saddam Hussein caused this exodus. The increase in Albanian refugees (the absolute numbers were quite small) following the otherwise very successful Italian-led intervention appears to have resulted from the continued depredation of organized crime.

Enduring Peace

Peace is most immediate and the most important the goal of any nation-building mission. Without peace, neither sustained economic growth nor enduring democratization is possible. With peace, some level of economic growth becomes almost inevitable and democratization at least possible. Using data from the University of Maryland–George Mason University State Failure data set as a guide to our assessment, among the 22 cases studied in this and the preceding volumes, 16 remained at peace in 2007, and six did not (see Table 9.1). Of the European-led cases covered in this volume, four were at peace in 2007, and two (DRC and Côte d'Ivoire) were not. Of the eight UN-led cases, seven were at peace and one was not (again, the Congo, now the DRC). Of the eight U.S.-led cases, five were at peace, and three were not (Somalia, Afghanistan, and Iraq). Peace in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, and Sierra Leone has been sustained only with the ongoing presence of international forces. These categorizations are thus necessarily provisional, particularly for ongoing operations.

Economic Reconstruction

Per Capita External Assistance

To make comparisons across operations, Figure 9.9 employs per capita external assistance (in constant 2000 dollars) for the first two years of each operation. Small societies, not surprisingly, tended to receive more assistance on a per capita basis than did larger ones.

Most European- and UN-led operations had lower levels of assistance than did most U.S.-led operations in both absolute and proportional terms. It is easy to understand why U.S.-led efforts are better financed than those led by the UN. This reflects the United States' greater access to donor assistance funds, including its own and those of the international financial institutions to which it belongs. What is a little more surprising is that EU-led operations do not seem to enjoy quite the same advantage, despite the fact that total European development budgets are much larger than those of the United States.

Table 9.1
Sustained Peace

Operation Type	Country	Sustained Peace, 2007
U.S.-led	Germany	Yes
	Japan	Yes
	Somalia	No
	Haiti	Yes
	Bosnia (I)	Yes
	Kosovo	Yes
	Afghanistan	No
	Iraq	No
UN-led	Belgian Congo	No
	Namibia	Yes
	El Salvador	Yes
	Cambodia	Yes
	Mozambique	Yes
	Eastern Slavonia	Yes
	East Timor	Yes
European-led	Albania	Yes
	Sierra Leone	Yes
	Macedonia	Yes
	Côte d'Ivoire	No
	Democratic Republic of the Congo	No
	Bosnia (II)	Yes
Australian-led	Solomon Islands	Yes

SOURCES: University of Maryland Center for International Development and Conflict Management (baseline). Data from University of Maryland and George Mason University State Failure: Internal Wars and Failures of Governance database, 1955–2005 data set. Findings extrapolated to 2007, based on qualitative assessment of the security environment in that year.

Figure 9.9
Average Annual Per Capita Assistance Over the First Two Years of Operations
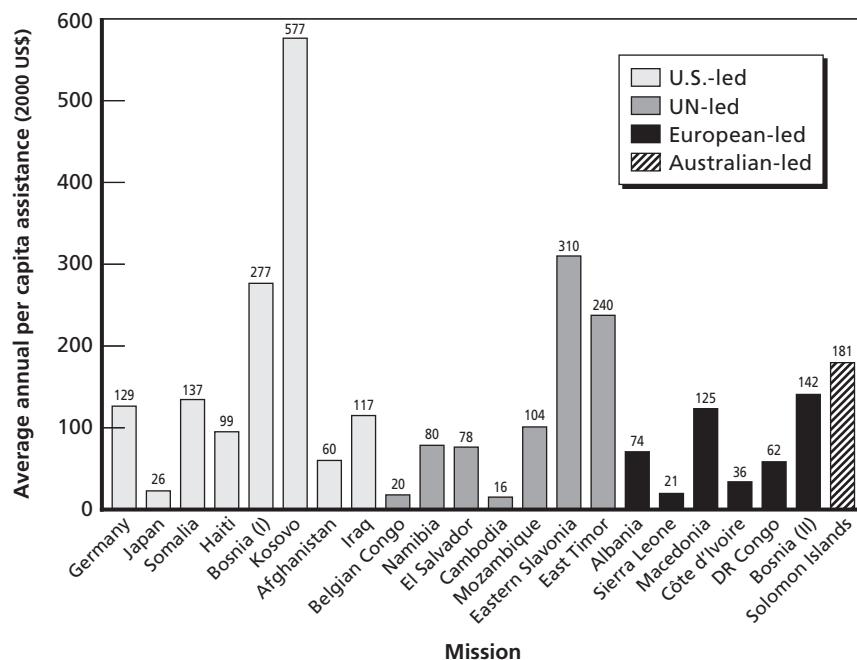
This anomaly may reflect the fact that EU developmental and security policies are not yet as integrated as their U.S. counterparts. When the United States puts its soldiers at risk, it tends to quickly reorder its economic assistance priorities to back those military commitments with heightened economic engagement (Afghanistan, until recently, being a notable exception). In the EU, the division among the Council of the European Union, the European Commission, and national developmental authorities makes it more difficult to quickly shift aid resources in this manner, as does the greater conceptual and bureaucratic divide in Europe between those responsible for security and those responsible for developmental policy. Again, this is not a criticism of European generosity. Most of the money for the U.S.-led efforts in Bosnia and Kosovo came from Europe. Rather, it is a comment on Europe's capac-

ity to quickly integrate all elements of power and reorient spending in pursuit of common objectives.

Economic Growth

In all the cases studied, conflict resulted in a fall in output and living standards in the societies concerned. As Figure 9.10 shows, an end to conflict brought economic growth in all but one case: East Timor. In Côte d'Ivoire, the conflict did not end, so the negative growth continued. In Germany, Bosnia, and Kosovo, high levels of external economic assistance contributed to rapid economic recovery. Cambodia, El Salvador, and Sierra Leone also enjoyed strong growth despite less generous inflows of aid. The general rule is that, if security is

Figure 9.10
Average Annual Growth in Per Capita GDP Over the First Five Years of Operations
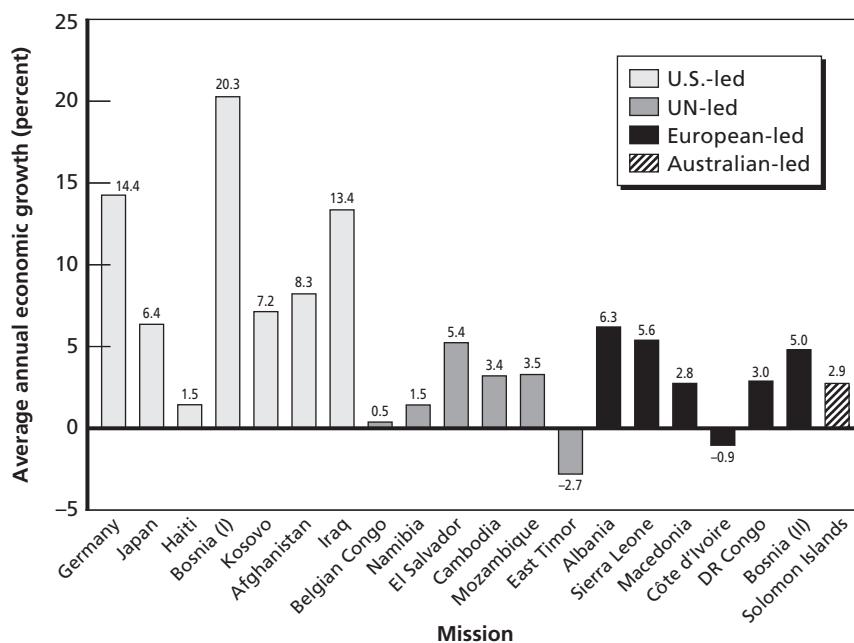
NOTE: Reliable GDP data were not available for Somalia and Eastern Slavonia, so we did not include them in the figure.

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established, the economy will begin growing. If economic assistance is also provided, it will grow even faster. Euro for euro, aid to postconflict societies will promote more growth than will aid to settled societies of the same size and level of development. Postconflict societies also have a higher absorptive capacity than do comparable settled societies.

Democratization

Timing of Elections

The establishment of a representative government and democratic political system is a core objective of most nation-building operations. Central to this process has been the planning and conduct of elections (see Figure 9.11). Although many experts suggest that local elections should precede national ones, this seldom occurs. National elections preceded local elections—or were not held at all—during every European-led operation. The same was true in UN operations, in which national elections preceded or were held at the same time as local elections in every operation except Eastern Slavonia, which was part of Croatia. The U.S.-led cases showed more divergence. In Japan and Bosnia, local elections were held well after national elections. In Haiti, they were held simultaneously. In Germany and Kosovo, local elections preceded national polls by at least 18 months.

Initial elections were found to be free and fair in nearly all the cases studied. Elections are a prerequisite for democracy, but speed in organizing elections is not necessarily an indicator of ultimate success. Haiti, for instance, had one of the quickest elections but also the least-enduring success.

Level of Freedom

In Table 9.2, we categorize each of the countries studied as free or not free. To determine which category applies, we used codings from Freedom House.[5] Those countries whose Freedom House ratings averaged 1.0 to 2.5 were considered free; those that scored 3.0 to 5.0 were

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[5]   See Freedom House (2007).

Figure 9.11
Timing of Local and National Elections
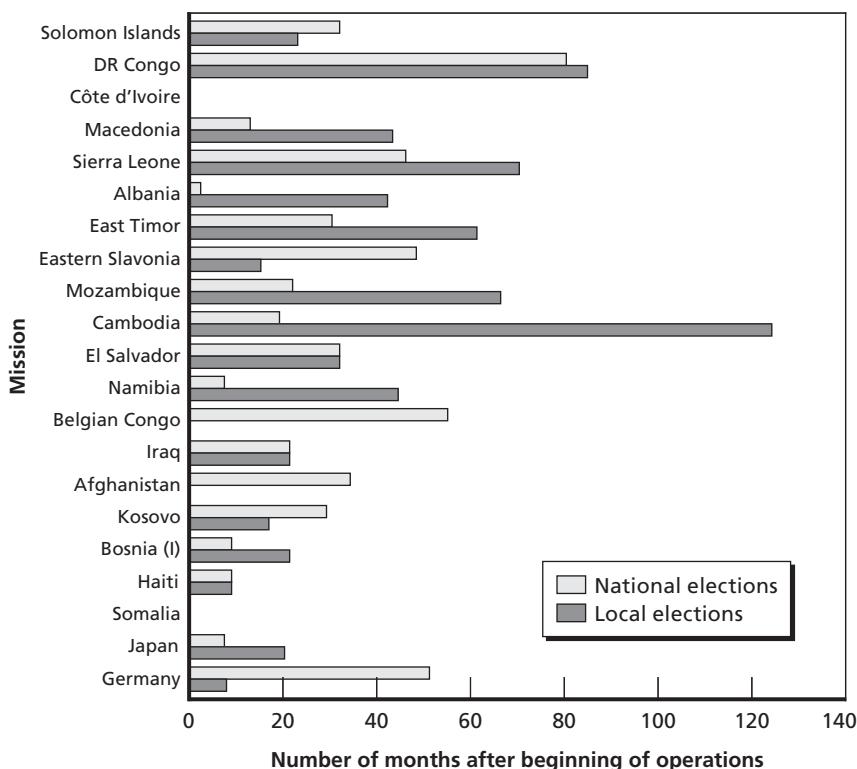
RAND *MG722-9.11*

partly free, and those between 5.5 and 7.0 were considered not free. Among the European cases, Macedonia was free; Albania, the DRC, and Bosnia were partly free; and Côte d'Ivoire was not free. Among the U.S.-led cases, Germany and Japan were free; Haiti, Bosnia, and Afghanistan were partly free; and Somalia, Kosovo, and Iraq were not free. Freedom House rated Kosovo not free because it was not yet independent. One can assume that Kosovo will be rated free or partly free next time. Among the UN-led cases, all but Cambodia were free or partly free. In general, we found no correlation between the timing of elections—either national or local—and the level of freedom.

Table 9.2
Level of Freedom

Operation Type	Country	Freedom Rating (2007)	Freedom House Score (2007)
U.S.-led	Germany	Free	1
	Japan	Free	1
	Somalia	Not free	7
	Haiti	Partly free	4
	Bosnia (I)	Partly free	3
	Kosovo	Not free	6
	Afghanistan	Partly free	5
	Iraq	Not free	6
UN-led	Belgian Congo	Partly free	5
	Namibia	Free	2
	El Salvador	Free	2
	Cambodia	Not free	6
	Mozambique	Partly free	3
	Eastern Slavonia[a]	Free	2
	East Timor	Partly free	3
European-led	Albania	Partly free	3
	Sierra Leone	Partly free	4
	Macedonia	Free	2
	Côte d'Ivoire	Not free	7
	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Partly free	5
	Bosnia (II)	Partly free	3
Australian-led	Solomon Islands	Partly free	4

SOURCE: Freedom House (2007).

[a] Data were not available for Eastern Slavonia, so Croatia was used as a proxy.

European and U.S. Nation-Building

The analyses in this chapter suggest several conclusions regarding Europe's role in nation-building. First, European military, police, and economic assistance levels were moderate. This was likely because European-led operations began either before major conflict occurred or after most of the fighting ended. Second, European-led operations were moderately successful. Most achieved sustained peace, GDP growth, and democratic freedom. The EU has developed a wide array of civil competencies for nation-building operations, though its progress on the military side has been slower. Third, EU participation in nation-building operations has an important political implication. NATO may be preferable for many European missions, and the UN may be preferable for nation-building in the developing world, but there are circumstances in which one or both of these institutions might not be available. European governments increasingly have the option of acting independently and collectively in such circumstances.

Given the heavy overlap among U.S.-, European-, and UN-led operations, it is difficult to demonstrate that one does nation-building better than the others. Who, after all, should get credit for success in Bosnia and failure in Somalia? In general, the United States has tended to take on the larger, tougher cases, and so its overall success rate is lower. Europe's record is somewhat better. It is notable that the UN's success rate with respect to peace, refugee return, and freedom is the highest of all. Whether this means that the UN is more proficient in this field than is Europe or the United States is arguable. What is clear is that the UN's success rate is significantly higher than is generally recognized.

Figures 9.12 through 9.16 tabulate and compare military troop contributions in UN-mandated operations and, as a subcategory, in UN-led (blue-helmeted) operations, comparing European and U.S. commitments to those of the rest of the world. The European figures include all members of the European Union as of 2007, even for years before these became members. Thus, the European numbers for early 1990s include deployments from countries that subsequently joined the EU. Figure 9.12 illustrates the number of troops deployed to UN-

mandated peace operations. These include all cases in which the UNSC passed a resolution that authorized the operation, regardless of whether it was led by the UN, NATO, or another state or international organization. As Figure 9.12 suggests, the United States and Europe seem to be doing their fair share of staffing such missions when compared with the rest of the world. This is particularly true for the United States if Iraq is included. The U.S. presence in Iraq does enjoy a UNSC mandate, though the invasion did not. As some readers are likely to question whether Iraq qualifies as multinational "peace" operation, we show U.S. figures both with and without Iraq counted.

Beginning in 1991, the troop levels committed to multinational peace operations have increased fairly steadily, with the United States contributing the fewest, as compared with Europe and the rest of the world. After 9/11, as the figure shows, the U.S. share increased sharply if Iraq is counted, otherwise it did not.

Figure 9.12
Number of Troops Deployed to UN-Mandated Operations, 1991–2005
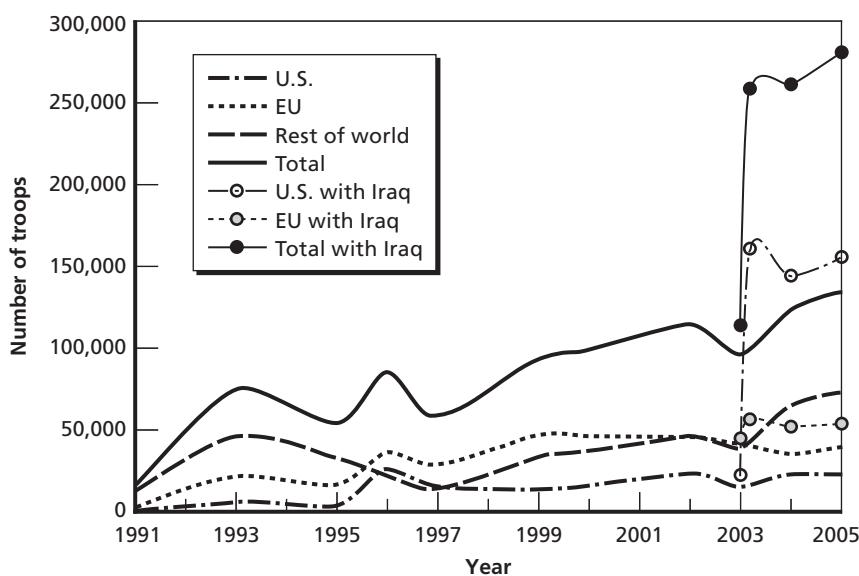
Figure 9.13 highlights the percentage of troops deployed to UN-mandated peace operations. Europe and the rest of the world did the bulk of peacekeeping and peace enforcement until September 11, 2001, after which the U.S. share rose if Iraq is counted. In any case, Europe's share diminished. Recent European deployments to Afghanistan have reversed this trend somewhat.

Figure 9.14 highlights the number of troops in operations *led* by the UN, which is a subset of all operations *mandated* by the UN. As this figure indicates, U.S. and European participation in UN-led operations plummeted in the mid-1990s and has remained low since. It was virtually nonexistent for the United States. UN peacekeeping itself underwent a slump in the mid-1990s but then rebounded to previous highs. These operations have, since the mid-1990s, been staffed almost exclusively by the rest of the world, the recently expanded Lebanon mission excepted. Despite this Western absence, the success rate for UN-led missions has been rather high in recent years. There is

Figure 9.13
Percentage of Troops Deployed to UN-Mandated Operations, 1991–2005
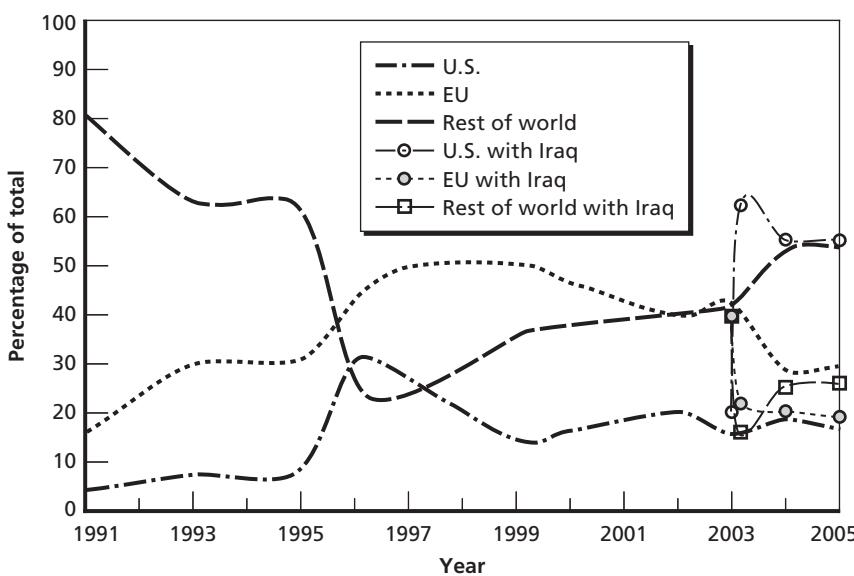
**Figure 9.14
Number of Troops in UN-Led Operations, 1991–2005**
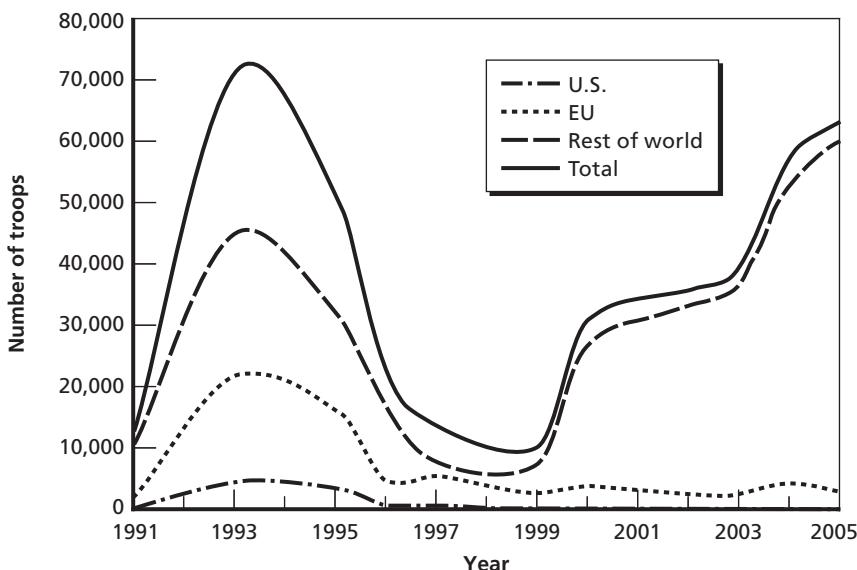
little doubt, however, that the difficulty that the UN has encountered in securing commitments for contingents of highly trained, heavily equipped, mobile troops to provide a rapid-reaction element and strategic reserve for its more demanding missions has been a seriously limiting factor.

Figure 9.15 shows the percentage of total troops deployed to operations led by the UN. U.S. and European troop contributions plummeted in the mid-1990s and never recovered.

Figure 9.16 illustrates the percentage of active-duty forces deployed in UN-mandated peace operations. Total U.S. and European troop commitments to UN-mandated operations, including those under NATO or national command, remained a small portion of the active-duty force between 1991 and 2005. They ranged from 1 to 1.5 percent of total active-duty capacity for the United States and somewhere between 2 and 3 percent for Europe after 1998. If Iraq is included, the U.S. figure goes way up after 2003.

Since the end of the Cold War, nearly all European and U.S. operational deployments have enjoyed a UN mandate. Setting Iraq aside, it is remarkable how small a percentage of their total military capacity the United States and Europe committed to such operations. No more than 3 percent of the European armed forces have ever been engaged in such activity and no more than 2 percent for the United States, until Iraq. Given the great difficulty that European governments have encountered in sustaining even such low levels, these figures highlight the continued challenge that Europe faces in developing a greater expeditionary capability. It also reflects well on the UN, which has, in recent years, been able to field a larger overall force than have NATO, the EU, and all European governments combined, drawing almost exclusively on non-Western contributors.

Figure 9.15
Percentage of Total Troops Deployed to UN-Led Operations, 1991–2005
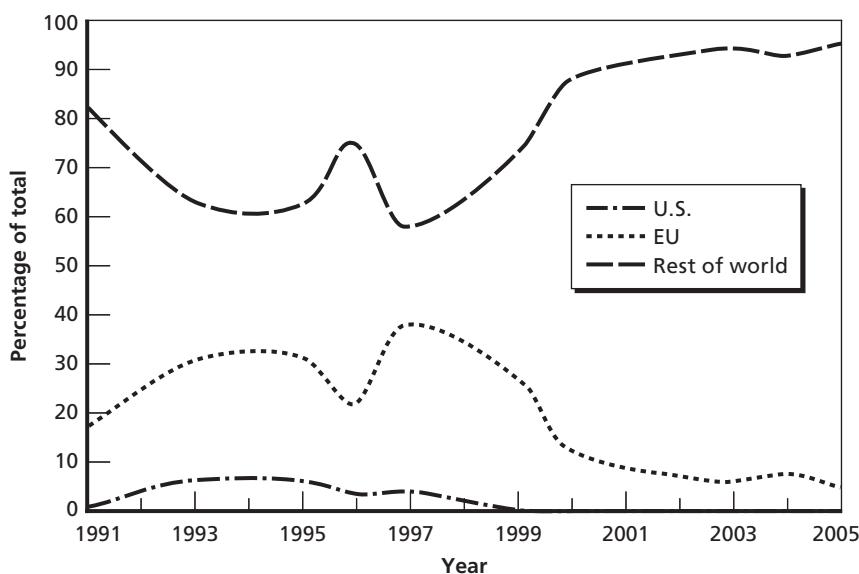
Figure 9.16
Percentage of Active-Duty Forces Deployed to UN-Mandated Operations,
1991–2005
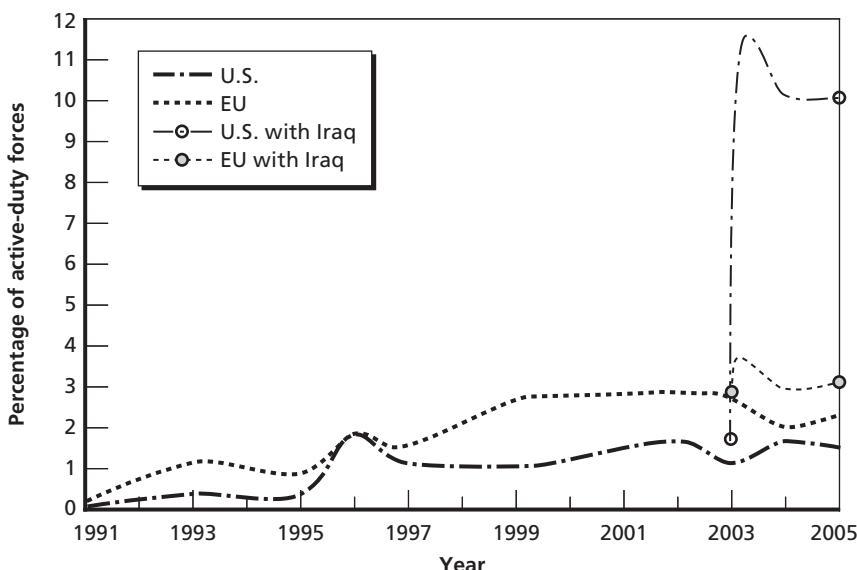
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Conclusions

European institutions for foreign, security, and defense policy have evolved over the period covered by these six cases. Throughout the 1990s, Europe, lacking a military organization of its own, could choose only among the UN-, NATO-, or nationally led coalitions for the management of expeditionary forces. In the current decade, another alternative emerged: EU-led missions. Initially, these were either very small or nationally led interventions with an EU flag. Both the second Congo operation and the Bosnian missions were larger and more truly multinational in management.

Operating on its own periphery, within societies that regard themselves as European and aspire to membership in the EU, the EU clearly has advantages that alternative institutional frameworks for nation-building cannot entirely match. On the other hand, the EU has assumed lead responsibility only for operations in areas already pacified to some degree by others. The vacillation in EU management of Bosnia, the difficulties in agreeing on a common EU position on Kosovo's final status, and delay in mounting an operation in Chad demonstrate the difficulty that EU institutions may encounter in employing armed force in more volatile situations.

The success of EU operations in sub-Saharan Africa may say as much about the quality of European troops as the efficacy of European institutions. The withdrawal of Europe from UN peacekeeping following the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) experience has required that organization to rely largely on less well-equipped and often less well-trained troops from developing nations. Despite this limitation,

that organization has in recent years racked up an impressive series of successes, sometimes with episodic European help (as in Sierra Leone and the DRC) and often without.

The success of EU efforts to buttress UN forces in the DRC needs to be contrasted with the experience in Liberia, in which Sweden and Ireland have provided comparably well-equipped, highly mobile troops to the UN peacekeeping force without insisting on separate national or EU command arrangements. The UN-commanded force in Lebanon is also heavily European in composition. Clearly, the introduction of European troops into the DRC in 2003 and 2006 was helpful, and the EU's handling of those forces was competent. Whether the dispatch of such forces under EU command was the optimal way to bolster the larger UN operation is another matter.

Yet to argue that European management of these interventions may not have been necessary is rather to miss the point of these initiatives. EU defense collaboration has not been pursued to facilitate European contributions to multilateral military operations but to provide a vehicle for European leadership of such activities. NATO may provide the preferred vehicle for European defense, and the UN for developing-world nation-building, but one can imagine circumstances in which one or the other institution might not be available. European governments want the option of acting independently and collectively in such circumstances. The EU defense and security machinery is designed to provide its members such an alternative.

Seen from this perspective, the two European expeditions into the DRC and the prospective EU mission into Chad can be seen as the by-product of European integration, rather than the most efficient means of deploying and employing European forces in support of a UN operation. As such, the DRC operations must be adjudged a success, as should the EU-led missions in Macedonia and Bosnia.

That said, these missions have displayed weaknesses that could limit the EU's capacity to operate military forces in more demanding environments absent further improvements in EU capacity. To date, EU-led operations have been rather tentative, and most European governments have proved highly risk averse, a criticism that was leveled more often at the United States in the 1990s. The nature of EU deci-

sionmaking is likely to sustain this risk-averse behavior. In NATO, military commitments are driven by the institution's dominant member, the United States. In the United Nations, such decisions are made by governments that, for the most part, do not intend to hazard their own soldiers in the resultant operations. As a result, NATO is prepared to accept risks at which the EU would balk, while the UN regularly takes chances that neither the EU nor NATO would countenance. As of this writing, the United Nations is seeking to pacify war-torn Darfur with lightly equipped troops drawn from the developing world, while heavily armed, mobile European battalions are preparing to patrol refugee camps in neighboring Chad. Certainly, both jobs need to be done, but a reversal of roles would surely yield better results.

Another EU weakness, oddly enough, is in the integration of the military and civil components of nation-building. In theory, the EU should be uniquely equipped to mobilize the full panoply of civil-military assets needed for successful postconflict reconstruction. NATO has no civil assets, and the UN's economic resources are much more limited than are those of the EU. Yet so far, the EU has been only moderately successful in mobilizing its civilian capacity in support of its military commitments. U.S.-led nation-building missions are almost always more generously resourced than are those directed by the UN, because the United States tends to back up any troop commitment with substantial economic assistance. By contrast, European-led missions appear to fare on par with UN-led operations with regard to the level of nonmilitary resources applied.

There are several factors that explain this weakness, all of which may be transitory. Nationally led operations, like the United Kingdom's in Sierra Leone and France's in Côte d'Ivoire, have not inspired other European governments or institutions to raise the profile of those nations in their own development-assistance priorities. This may change as future such operations take place under an EU flag. The division between the Council of the European Union, which decides on defense and security matters, and the European Commission, which sets and implements development policy, has often led to a disjointed EU response to the call of nation-building. Constitutional reform should improve EU performance in this regard. Finally, European gov-

ernments and institutions tend to draw a sharper line between development and security assistance than does the United States or the UN, creating barriers for the use of European development funds to pay for such activities as police training or militia demobilization. Greater European involvement in the management of nation-building operations should erode these barriers.

Despite these continuing difficulties, European institutions for the management of civil-military operations have developed to the stage at which they are more than brief, tentative experiments and can be embarked upon with some confidence. The greatest challenges faced by the EU do not reside in the efficacious employment of armed force but rather in formulating and applying the broader political-military strategy that must underlie it. Like NATO, EU decisionmaking requires consensus among all 27 of its member governments. Unlike NATO, there is no single, dominant member whose views tend to drive this process. The EU can consequently be slow to respond to new developments and changed circumstances. The difficulty reaching a common EU view on the final status of Kosovo is one such example.

Outside Europe, the most efficient way for European governments to contribute to the most international peace operations will be to assign national contingents directly to UN peacekeeping missions. Prior to the mid-1990s, European militaries were a mainstay of UN peacekeeping. Today, the UN deploys more troops in active operations abroad than do the EU, NATO, and every European government combined. Almost none of these soldiers are American, and very few are European. Yet the UN's success rate, as measured in enhanced security, economic growth, return of refugees, and installation of representative governments meets or exceeds that of U.S.- and European-led missions in almost every category. Thus, it is time for European governments, militaries, and populations to get over the trauma of the UNPROFOR experience, take on board the subsequent improvement in the UN's performance, and begin once again to do their share of the staffing of these operations, as they are already doing in paying for these efforts.[1]

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[1]   This advice is, of course, equally valid for the United States, at least once the level of its troop commitment in Iraq is substantially reduced.

The Australian-led mission in the Solomon Islands represents an almost unique example of a multinational nation-building operation in which there has been no U.S., European, or UN involvement. The Australian government had, however, clearly collected and integrated many of the best practices developed by the international community over the preceding decade in designing this intervention. These best practices included putting security first, establishing local and international legitimacy, maintaining unity of command, employing large numbers of international police, super-sizing the initial military contingent, deploying a full range of civil capabilities, and planning for an extended engagement.

Australia also introduced three innovations that might have future application elsewhere:

- planning and budgeting for a 10-year operation
- swearing international police into the local police force and putting international officials directly into the local bureaucracy
- basing its presence exclusively on a local invitation.

The most controversial aspect of the Solomons mission has been its policy of putting personnel directly into government positions, particularly very senior positions, such as police commissioner and accountant general. Australian officials and some Solomon Islanders argue that this arrangement is essential for the country's government to function at all, but the presence of Australian and other foreign officials in government positions may breed dependence and limit the professional development of public-service personnel. It also increases resentment among Solomon Islanders—and particularly among the unemployed—who believe that locals should fill those jobs instead of outsiders.[2]

The Australian government claimed that it forwent a UNSC endorsement for its intervention in the interest of time, but a more likely explanation is pique over the failure of the UNSC to authorize the invasion of Iraq, in which Australian forces had participated only

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[2] "Security, Solomon Islands" (2007).

a few weeks before launch of the Solomons operation. It is unlikely that future intervening authorities will chose to forgo a UN mandate when one is available, but the Australian example does make clear that there is an acceptable alternative in cases in which the UNSC may be deadlocked and the host government is ready to issue the necessary invitation.

Finally, the Solomons operation, so well planned, abundantly resourced, and skillfully executed, is a reminder of how daunting the prospect of nation-building is, even in the smallest of societies and in most favorable of circumstances. It is too soon to judge the success of the mission, since it is not even at the halfway point of its expected 10-year lifespan, but the progress that has been made in reestablishing security is counterbalanced with continuing challenges and questions about what the mission will be able to achieve in terms of economic and political reform. The case of the Solomon Islands shows that nation-building is an enormously challenging enterprise even under the seemingly best of circumstances.

Nation-Building Supporting Data

Tables A.1 through A.11 present supporting data on troop levels, population statistics, mission characteristics, casualties, and outcomes for U.S.-, UN-, and European-led missions. The Australian mission discussed in this monograph, RAMSI, is also included.

Table A.1
Mission Information

Case Type	Country	Duration (years)	Mission Start	Mission End	Mission Name(s)	Ending Event
U.S.	Germany	10	8-May-45	5-May-55		Bonn-Paris conventions ratified
U.S.	Japan	7	2-Sep-45	28-Apr-52		San Francisco Peace Treaty
U.S.	Somalia	3	8-Dec-92	3-Mar-95	UNOSOM I, UNOSOM II, Unified Task Force, Operation Restore Hope, Operation Continue Hope, Operation United Shield	UNOSOM II ends
U.S.	Haiti	2	19-Sep-94	30-Jun-96	UNMIH	UNMIH ends
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	9	14-Dec-95	2-Dec-04	IFOR, SFOR, UNMIBH	EUFOR assumes responsibility
U.S.	Kosovo	8	3-Jun-99	Ongoing	UN Mission in Kosovo, NATO Kosovo Force	
U.S.	Afghanistan	6	22-Dec-01	Ongoing	Operation Enduring Freedom, NATO International Assistance Force	
U.S.	Iraq	4	1-May-03	Ongoing	Operation Iraqi Freedom	
UN	Belgian Congo	4	18-Jul-60	30-Jun-64	ONUC	ONUC ends
UN	Namibia	1	1-Apr-89	21-Mar-90	UNTAG	UNTAG ends
UN	El Salvador	4	26-Jul-91	30-Apr-95	ONUSAL	ONUSAL ends
UN	Cambodia	2	16-Oct-91	24-Sep-93	UNAMIC, UNTAC	UNAMIC ends

Table A.1—Continued

Case Type	Country	Duration (years)	Mission Start	Mission End	Mission Name(s)	Ending Event
UN	Mozambique	2	16-Dec-92	9-Dec-94	ONUMOZ	ONUMOZ ends
UN	Eastern Slavonia	2	15-Jan-96	15-Jan-98	UNTAES	UNTAES Ends
UN	East Timor[a]	8	25-Oct-99	Ongoing	UNTAET, UNMIT, UNMISET	
Eur	Albania	1	15-Apr-97	12-Aug-97	Operation Alba	Operation Alba ends
Eur	Sierra Leone[b]	8	13-Jul-98	31-Dec-05	UNAMSIL, UNOMSIL, Operation Palliser, Operation Barras	UNAMSIL ends
Eur	Macedonia	5	22-Aug-01	15-Dec-05	Operation Essential Harvest, Operation Amber Fox, EU Concordia, EU Police Mission Proxima	EU Police Mission Proxima ends
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire[c]	5	22-Sep-02	Ongoing	UNOCI, Operation Licorne	
Eur	DR Congo[d]	4	30-Nov-99	Ongoing	MONUC, IEMF/Operation Artemis (2003), EUFOR RD Congo (2006)	
Eur	Bosnia (II)	3	2-Dec-04	Ongoing	EUFOR/Operation Althea	
Aus	Solomon Islands	4	24-Jul-03	Ongoing	RAMSI	

NOTE: Information in the table was current as of late 2007. ONUC = UN Operation in the Congo. ONUMOZ = UN Operation in Mozambique. ONUSAL = UN Observer Mission in El Salvador. UNAMIC = UN Advance Mission in Cambodia. UNMIH = UN Mission in Haiti. UNMISET = UN Mission of Support in East Timor. UNMIT = UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste. UNOMSIL = UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone. UNTAC = UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia. UNTAES = UN Mission in Eastern Slavonia. UNTAET = UN Transitional Administration in East Timor. UNTAG = UN Transitional Assistance Group.

Table A.1—Continued

[a] East Timor is considered to be a continuous mission, because the three-month gap between the end of UNMISET and the start of UNMIT was considered so short as to be essentially the same mission.

[b] The UN mission began in July 1998, and the UK mission began in May 2000. The UN mission ended in December 2005, and UK military operations concluded by the end of 2000.

[c] The French mission began on September 22, 2002. The UN mission began on April 4, 2004, replacing the UN political mission, which had been in place prior to that. Both missions are ongoing.

[d] The UN mission began on November 30, 1999, and is ongoing. European troops were deployed to the country for two periods: from June 10 to September 7, 2003, and from July 30 to November 30, 2006.

SOURCES: "Protocol on the Termination of the Occupation Regime in the Federal Republic of Germany," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 49, No. 3, Supplement: Official Documents, July 1955; "Treaty of Peace with Japan," United Nations Treaty Series, 1952 (Reg. No. 1832), Vol. 136; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Operation in the Congo: ONUC," Web page, 2001a; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Transition Assistance Group: UNTAG," Web page, 2001c; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador: ONUSAL," Web page, 2003c; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia: UNAMIC," Web page, 2003a; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia: UNTAC," Web page, 2003f; U.S. Army Center of Military History, *The United States Army in Somalia: 1992–1994*, No. 70-81-1, Washington, D.C., 2006, p. 25; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Operation in Mozambique: ONUMOZ," Web page, 2001b; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Mission in Haiti: UNMIH," Web page, 2003b; EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2007); UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirmium: UNTAES," Web page, undated; Riccardo Marchio, "'Operation Alba': A European Approach to Peace Support Operations in the Balkans," Carlisle, Pa.: U.S. Army War College, 2000, pp. iii, 6; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone: UNOMSIL," Web page, 2000; United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, homepage, 2006; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor: UNTAET," Web page, 2003e; United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor, homepage, 2005; NATO, Kosovo Force, "Conflict Background," Web page, last updated April 18, 2007; Council of the European Union, "European Union Police Mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (EUPOL Proxima)," Brussels, 2007; Etat Major des Armées (2007); UN Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit, Military Division, *Operation Artemis: The Lessons of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force*, New York, October 2004; Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands, "What Is RAMSI," Honiara, July 19, 2006; United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire, homepage, 2007; United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, homepage, 2006; European Union, "EUFOR RD Congo: The Mission," Brussels, November 2007; Dorman (2006, p. 5).

Table A.2
Troop Information

Case Type	Country	No. of Troops (lead)	No. of Troops (other)	Peak Year	Peak-Year Population (millions)	Troops/1,000 Inhabitants (lead)	Troops/1,000 Inhabitants (other)
U.S.	Germany[a]	1,622,000		1945	18.2	89.3	
U.S.	Japan	354,675		1945	72.2	4.9	
U.S.	Somalia	37,000		1992	6.5	5.7	
U.S.	Haiti	21,000		1994	7.3	2.9	
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	60,000		1995	3.4	17.5	
U.S.	Kosovo	45,000		2000	2.3	19.3	
U.S.	Afghanistan[b]	40,800		2006	25.1	1.6	
U.S.	Iraq[b]	183,000		2005	28.0	6.5	
UN	Belgian Congo	19,828		1961	15.9	1.3	
UN	Namibia	4,493		1989	1.3	3.4	
UN	El Salvador	368		1992	5.3	0.1	
UN	Cambodia	15,991		1993	10.7	1.5	
UN	Mozambique	6,576		1993	14.8	0.4	
UN	Eastern Slavonia	5,104		1996	0.1	35.3	

Case Type	Country	No. of Troops (lead)	No. of Troops (other)	Peak Year	Peak-Year Population (millions)	Troops/1,000 Inhabitants (lead)	Troops/1,000 Inhabitants (other)
UN	East Timor	8,084		2000	0.8	9.8	
Eur	Albania	7,024		1997	3.1	2.3	
Eur	Sierra Leone	17,368	4,500 (UK)	2000/2002[c]	4.9	3.6	0.02
Eur	Macedonia	4,800		2001	2.0	2.4	
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	3,800	8,059 (UN)	2007	18.8	0.2	0.4
Eur	DR Congo	2,500	16,640 (UN)	2006	59.3	0.04	0.28
Eur	Bosnia (II)	5,700		2005	3.9	1.5	
Aus	Solomon Islands	1,800		2003	0.5	4.0	

[a] Germany includes only U.S. troops in the U.S. zone.

[b] Afghanistan includes all coalition forces in both the NATO International Security Assistance Force and Operation Enduring Freedom. Iraq includes all coalition forces in the country.

[c] In Sierra Leone, the force deployed by the UK peaked in 2000, at 4,500 troops. The overall force peaked in 2002, with 17,368 UN and 100 UK troops.

Table A.2—Continued

SOURCES: Earl F. Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944–1946*, Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, 1975, p. 320; U.S. Department of War, Office of the Adjutant General, Machine Records Branch, *Strength of the Army*, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1945; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (undated, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2003b, 2003c, 2003f); UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Operation in Somalia II: UNOSOM II," 2003d; International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 1996–1997*, London: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 82; Marchio (2000, p. 3); Italian Ministry of Defense, "1997: La Missione Alba nel quadro della FMP" ["1997: The Operation Alba Under the Multinational Force"], Rome, 2005; UN Mission in Sierra Leone (2005); International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 2000–2001*, London: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 199; Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, *Human Rights in Kosovo: As Seen, As Told*, Vol. II, *14 June–31 October 1999*, Pristina, November 1999, p. xix; September 4, 2001, NATO press briefing; United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire" (2007); International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 2006*, London: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 228–229; Michael O'Hanlon and Jason Campbell, *Iraq Index*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, July 28, 2007; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "UN Missions Summary of Military and Police," New York, August 2006b; Glenn (2007, p. 20); EU Military Operation Bosnia and Herzegovina (2007); Dorman (2006, p. 4).

Table A.3
Civilian Police Information

Case Type	Country	No. of Civilian Police (lead)	No. of Civilian Police (other)	Peak Year	Peak-Year Population (millions)	Civilian Police/1,000 Inhabitants (lead)	Civilian Police/1,000 Inhabitants (other)	Civilian Police/1,000 Troops
U.S.	Germany	0		NA	NA	NA		NA
U.S.	Japan	0		NA	NA	NA		NA
U.S.	Somalia	42		1995	6.3	0.01		1
U.S.	Haiti	874		1996	7.5	0.12		42
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	2,047		1997	3.5	0.59		34
U.S.	Kosovo	4,731		2002	2.0	2.38		108
U.S.	Afghanistan	0		NA	NA	NA		NA
U.S.	Iraq	0		NA	NA	NA		NA
UN	Belgian Congo	400		1965	17.7	0.02		20
UN	Namibia	1,500		1990	1.4	1.07		334
UN	El Salvador	315		1992	5.3	0.06		856
UN	Cambodia	3,359		1994	11.1	0.30		210
UN	Mozambique	1,087		1995	15.9	0.07		165
UN	Eastern Slavonia	457		1998	0.1	4.35		90

Table A.3—Continued

Case Type	Country	No. of Civilian Police (lead)	No. of Civilian Police (other)	Peak Year	Peak-Year Population (millions)	Civilian Police/1,000 Inhabitants (lead)	Civilian Police/1,000 Inhabitants (other)	Civilian Police/1,000 Troops
UN	East Timor	1,626		2007	1.0	1.56		201
Eur	Albania	241		1997	3.1	0.08		34
Eur	Sierra Leone	87		2004	5.3	0.02		5
Eur	Macedonia	410		2002	2.0	0.20		85
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	0	1,626 (UN)	2002	17.3	0.00	0.07	98
Eur	DR Congo	29	1,103 (UN)	2006	59.3	0.00	0.02	59
Eur	Bosnia (II)	1,133		2005	3.9	0.66		199
Aus	Solomon Islands	300		2003	0.5	0.29		167

Table A.3—Continued

SOURCES: United Nations, *Yearbook of the United Nations 1964*, New York, 1964, p. 105; Robert B. Oakley, Michael J. Dziedzic, and Eliot M. Goldberg, eds., *Policing the New World Disorder: Peace Operations and Public Security*, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1998; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (undated, 2001b, 2001c, 2003c, 2003f, 2007); UNSC, "Further Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Somalia Submitted in Pursuance of Paragraph 2 of UN Security Council Resolution 923 (1994)," S/1994/839, July 18, 1994; International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 1995–1996*, London: Oxford University Press, 1995; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina," Web page, 2002a; Italian Ministry of Defense (2005); United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (2005, 2006); United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste, homepage, undated; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "Monthly Summary of Military and CIVPOL Personnel Deployed in Current United Nations Operations as of 28 Feb 2002," February 2002b; Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, "Mission Summary: Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje," Vienna, 2007; European Union Police Mission Proxima, "European Union Police Mission Proxima," factsheet, Skopje: European Union, 2003; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, "UN Missions Summary of Military and Police," New York, July 2006a; Glenn (2007, p. 20); EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2007).

Table A.4
Combat Casualty Information

Case Type	Country	Combat Casualties (lead)	Combat Casualties (other)	End Date
U.S.	Germany	0		5-May-55
U.S.	Japan	0		28-Apr-52
U.S.	Somalia	43		3-Mar-95
U.S.	Haiti	4		30-Jun-96
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	0		2-Dec-04
U.S.	Kosovo	11		Ongoing
U.S.	Afghanistan[a]	438		Ongoing
U.S.	Iraq[a]	3,218		Ongoing
UN	Belgian Congo	135		30-Jun-64
UN	Namibia	15		21-Mar-90
UN	El Salvador	0		30-Apr-95
UN	Cambodia	25		24-Sep-93
UN	Mozambique	1		9-Dec-94
UN	Eastern Slavonia	3		15-Jan-98
UN	East Timor	5		Ongoing
Eur	Albania	0		12-Aug-97
Eur	Sierra Leone	17 (UN)	1 (UK)	31-Dec-05
Eur	Macedonia	1		15-Dec-05
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	11	1 (UN)	Ongoing
Eur	DR Congo	0	29 (UN)	Ongoing
Eur	Bosnia (II)	0		Ongoing
Aus	Solomon Islands	1		Ongoing

NOTE: Because we could find no information on hostile casualties for U.S. forces in Japan, the U.S. sector of Germany, U.S. forces in Kosovo, Bosnia (both missions), Albania, or the French deployment to the DRC, we assumed that there were no casualties.

[a] Afghanistan and Iraq include casualties from all coalition forces.

Table A.4—Continued

SOURCES: UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Fatalities Statistics, data current through July 5, 2007; "British Soldier Killed in Macedonia," BBC News, August 27, 2001; Etat Major des Armées (2007); Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, data current through July 27, 2007; "Internal Affairs: Solomon Islands," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment*, November 9, 2007b.

Table A.5
Indicators of State Stability and Democratization

Case Type	Country	Sustained Peace (2005)	Democracy (2007)	Polity IV (2004)	Freedom House (2007)
U.S.	Germany	Yes	Yes	10	1
U.S.	Japan	Yes	Yes	10	1
U.S.	Somalia	No	No	—	5
U.S.	Haiti	No	No	—	5
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	Yes	Yes	6	2
U.S.	Kosovo	Yes	Yes	5	4
U.S.	Afghanistan	Yes	Yes	9	2
U.S.	Iraq	No	No	—	7
UN	Belgian Congo	No	No	—	7
UN	Namibia	Yes	No	1	4
UN	El Salvador	Yes	Yes	—	3
UN	Cambodia	Yes	Yes	—	6
UN	Mozambique	No	No	—	6
UN	Eastern Slavonia	Yes	Yes	7	2
UN	East Timor	Yes	Yes	7	2
Eur	Albania	Yes	No	3	6
Eur	Sierra Leone	Yes	Yes	6	3
Eur	Macedonia	Yes	Yes	6	3
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	Yes	Yes	7	3
Eur	DR Congo	No	No	—	5
Eur	Bosnia (II)	Yes	Yes	—	3
Aus	Solomon Islands	Yes	Yes	8	4

SOURCES: University of Maryland and George Mason University, State Failure: Internal Wars and Failures of Governance database, 1955–2005 data set; Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800–2004; Freedom House (2007, "Table of Independent Countries"); authors' assessment.

Table A.6
Election Information

Case Type	Country	National Elections (mos. postconflict)	Local Elections (mos. postconflict)	Mission Start Date	National Elections Date	Local Elections Date
U.S.	Germany	51	8	8-May-45	14-Aug-49	Jan-46
U.S.	Japan	7	20	2-Sep-45	10-Apr-46	30-Apr-47
U.S.	Somalia	NA	NA	8-Dec-92	NA	NA
U.S.	Haiti	9	9	19-Sep-94	25-Jun-95	25-Jun-95
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	9	21	14-Dec-95	13-Sep-96	13-Sep-97
U.S.	Kosovo	29	17	3-Jun-99	17-Nov-01	28-Oct-00
U.S.	Afghanistan	34	NA	22-Dec-01	9-Oct-04	NA
U.S.	Iraq	21	21	1-May-03	30-Jan-05	30-Jan-05
UN	Belgian Congo	55	NA	1-Jul-60	Mar-65	NA
UN	Namibia	7	44	1-Feb-89	7-Nov-89	Dec-92
UN	El Salvador	32	32	1-Jul-91	20-Mar-94	20-Mar-94
UN	Cambodia	19	124	1-Oct-91	23-May-93	3-Feb-02
UN	Mozambique	22	66	1-Dec-92	27-Oct-94	30-Jun-98
UN	Eastern Slavonia	48	15	15-Jan-96	2-Jan-00	13-Apr-97
UN	East Timor	30	61	25-Oct-99	14-Apr-02	Dec-04

Table A.6—Continued

Case Type	Country	National Elections (mos. postconflict)	Local Elections (mos. postconflict)	Mission Start Date	National Elections Date	Local Elections Date
Eur	Albania	2	42	28-Mar-97	29-Jun-97	1-Oct-00
Eur	Sierra Leone	46	70	1-Jul-98	May-02	May-04
Eur	Macedonia	13	43	22-Aug-01	15-Sep-02	Mar-05
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	NA	NA	22-Sep-02	NA	NA
Eur	DR Congo	38	43	10-Jun-03	30-Jul-06	Jan-07
Aus	Solomon Islands	32	23	24-Jul-03	5-Apr-06	29-Jun-05

NOTE: Bosnia (II) is excluded because it is a direct successor of Bosnia (I).

SOURCES: German Bundestag, "1949–89: German Bundestag," Berlin, 2007; Ziemke (1975, p. 427); Birth of the Constitution of Japan, "Chronological Table," Tokyo: National Diet Library, 2004, pp. 3, 5; "Internal Affairs: Democratic Republic of Congo," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment*, January 7, 2008; UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (2001c); Atlapedia, "Republic of Namibia," undated; Human Rights Watch, "El Salvador: Darkening Horizons: Human Rights on the Eve of the March 1994 Elections," *Human Rights Watch/Americas*, Vol. 6, No. 4, March 1994, p. 1; Khatharya Um, "Cambodia in 1993: Year Zero Plus One," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 34, No. 1, January 1994, p. 74; Thomas Lum, *Cambodia: Background and U.S. Relations*, CRS Report for Congress, RL32986, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, updated July 18, 2007, pp. 2–5; "Internal Affairs: Mozambique," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment*, January 9, 2008; Thomas W. Lippman and Douglas Farah, "Election Official in Haiti Resigns Under Pressure; Agency Chief Blamed for June Vote's Flaws," *Washington Post*, July 28, 1995; Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, "Elections: Bosnia and Herzegovina," Vienna, 2007b; Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, "Elections: Croatia," Vienna, 2007c; Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, "Elections: Albania," Vienna, 2007a; U.S. Department of State, *Country Report on Human Rights Practices*, 2007, "Sierra Leone"; U.S. Department of State, "Background Note: Timor-Leste," updated March 2008; "Legislative Elections in Kosovo," *NATO Update*, November 18, 2001; "Municipal Elections in Kosovo," *NATO Update*, October 28, 2000; Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, "Elections: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia," Vienna, 2007d; Joint Electoral Management Body, "Decision of the Joint Electoral Management Body," Kabul, 2004; Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq, homepage, updated February 27, 2006; Eoin Young, "DRC Governors and Vice Governors Elected for Nine Provinces," UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, January 30, 2007b; "Internal Affairs: Solomon Islands" (2007); "Solomon Islands Provincial Elections Held," BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific, June 29, 2005.

Table A.7
Refugee Data

Case Type	Country	% Refugees Returned After 5 Yrs	Change in Refugees Per Capita Over 5 Yrs	Max. Refugees per 1,000 Inhabitants (first 2 yrs)	Max. Refugees (first 2 yrs)	Start Date (Yr 0)	No. of Refugees per 1,000 Inhabitants					
							Yr 0	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 3	Yr 4	Yr 5
U.S.	Somalia	25.6	31.3	125	817,113	1992	125.3	89.6	99.7	101.2	100.2	94.0
U.S.	Haiti	38.4	0.9	2	13,925	1994	1.5	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.1
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	52.2	167.8	291	993,868	1995	225.3	291.3	243.4	176.9	147.9	123.5
U.S.	Kosovo	100.0	96.7	97	166,400	1999	96.7	81.2	74.3	NA	NA	NA
U.S.	Afghanistan	45.1	87.2	171	3,835,859	2001	171.3	112.1	92.9	88.3	89.1	84.1
U.S.	Iraq	−242.2	−35.1	16	424,009	2003	15.8	11.4	9.4	50.9	50.9	50.9
UN	Namibia	99.9	55.0	55	73,729	1989	55.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
UN	El Salvador	44.8	3.4	7	35,599	1991	6.8	5.8	4.8	5.5	4.2	3.4
UN	Cambodia	82.4	29.7	35	353,070	1991	35.1	2.8	0.9	0.8	5.4	5.3
UN	Mozambique	97.9	110.8	113	1,604,272	1992	112.8	79.4	15.3	7.9	2.1	2.0
UN	Eastern Slavonia[a]	73.5	NA	603	85,510	1996	591.4	602.7	703.4	NA	NA	NA
UN	East Timor	100.0	162.0	162	127,655	1999	162.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0
Eur	Albania	−99.7	−1.7	2	5,389	1997	1.7	1.7	1.4	2.2	2.5	3.5

Table A.7—Continued

Case Type	Country	% Refugees Returned After 5 Yrs	Change in Refugees Per Capita Over 5 Yrs	Max. Refugees per 1,000 Inhabitants (first 2 yrs)	Max. Refugees (first 2 yrs)	Start Date (Yr 0)	No. of Refugees per 1,000 Inhabitants					
							Yr 0	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 3	Yr 4	Yr 5
Eur	Sierra Leone	85.6	97.9	112	488,869	1998	95.7	111.7	89.3	38.3	28.9	13.8
Eur	Macedonia	100.0	46.6	47	94,012	2001	46.6	3.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	21.8	0.5	2	33,637	2002	1.4	1.9	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.4
Eur	DR Congo	12.8	1.6	8	461,042	2003	8.4	8.3	7.5	6.8	6.8	6.8
Eur	Bosnia (II)[b]	13.5	8.5	59	231,262	2004	59.2	28.1	50.6	50.6	50.6	50.6
Aus	Solomon Islands	37.7	0.1	0	61	2003	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1

NOTE: Germany and Japan are excluded because all refugees were stranded as a result of offensive operations by a state military or deliberate government colonization, not civilians fleeing a conflict. Belgian Congo is excluded because there were insufficient data.

[a] For Eastern Slavonia, population data were not available for the last two years of the period. However, the number of refugees for years 4 and 5 were 30,935 and 22,687, respectively.

[b] Bosnia (II) return rates are from the beginning of the EU mission.

SOURCES: UNHCR Statistical Online Population Database, data current as of June 8, 2007; UNHCR, *State of the World's Refugees: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 96; U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, *World Refugee Survey 1997*, Washington, D.C., 1997, p. 177; U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, *World Refugee Survey 1999*, Washington, D.C., 1999, p. 185; U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, *World Refugee Survey 2000*, Washington, D.C., 2000, p. 227; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Global IDP Database ("Profile of Internal Displacement: Croatia," May 27, 2004, p. 68).

Table A.8
Refugee Populations

Case Type	Country	Refugee Population (millions)					
		Yr 0	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 3	Yr 4	Yr 5
U.S.	Somalia	6.5	6.4	6.3	6.3	6.4	6.5
U.S.	Haiti	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.6	7.7	7.8
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8
U.S.	Kosovo	1.7	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0
U.S.	Afghanistan	—	22.4	23.0	23.6	24.3	25.1
U.S.	Iraq	26.9	27.5	28.0	28.5	—	—
UN	Namibia	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6
UN	El Salvador	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.7	5.8
UN	Cambodia	10.1	10.4	10.7	11.1	11.4	11.7
UN	Mozambique	14.2	14.8	15.3	15.9	16.3	16.7
UN	Eastern Slavonia	0.1	0.1	0.1	NA	NA	NA
UN	East Timor	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0
Eur	Albania	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1
Eur	Sierra Leone	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.7	4.9	5.1
Eur	Macedonia	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	17.3	17.6	17.9	18.2	18.5	18.8
Eur	DR Congo	54.2	55.9	57.5	59.3	61.1	—
Eur	Bosnia (II)	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.0	—	—
Aus	Solomon Islands	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	—

Table A.8—Continued

SOURCES: IMF, International Financial Statistics database, data current in 2007; IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2007b; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Global IDP Database ("Profile of Internal Displacement: Croatia," May 27, 2004); Statistical Office of Kosovo, *Vital Statistics of Kosovo, 2002–2003*, November 2004, pp. 6–7; Rakia Moalla-Fetini, Heikki Hatanpää, Shehadah Hussein, and Natalia Koliadina, *Kosovo: Gearing Projects Toward Growth and Development*, Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, 2005, p. 60; Statistical Office of Kosovo, *Series 4: Population Statistics, Kosovo Vital Statistics for 2005*, May 2007, p. 8; B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Europe 1750–1988*, 3rd ed., New York: Stockton Press, 1992, pp. 85–86; Arthur Banks, Cross-National Time Series: 1815–1973, database, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research; Irene B. Taeuber, "Postwar Emigration from Germany and Italy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 262, No. 1, March 1949, p. 84.

Table A.9
International Assistance Data

Case Type	Country	Annual Per Capita Assistance in First 2 Years (in 2000 US$)	Start Year (Yr 1)	Annual Per Capita Assistance (in 2000 US$)		Population (millions)	
				Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 0	Yr 1
U.S.	Germany	128.87[a]	1946	118.13	139.61	18.2	18.5
U.S.	Japan	25.52	1946	23.58	27.46	75.8	77.5
U.S.	Somalia	136.60	1992	116.03	157.17	6.5	6.4
U.S.	Haiti	98.62	1994	91.15	106.09	7.3	7.4
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	277.37	1995	293.49	261.25	3.4	3.4
U.S.	Kosovo	576.83	2000	587.72	565.95	1.7	1.9
U.S.	Afghanistan	60.38	2002	55.75	65.02	22.4	23.0
U.S.	Iraq	116.70	2003	78.64	154.77	26.9	27.5
UN	Belgian Congo	19.96	1960	21.98	17.95	15.5	15.9
UN	Namibia	80.24	1989	55.58	104.90	1.3	1.4
UN	El Salvador	77.50	1991	67.07	87.94	5.2	5.3
UN	Cambodia	16.43	1991	10.55	22.30	10.1	10.4
UN	Mozambique	104.42	1992	118.80	90.04	14.2	14.8
UN	Eastern Slavonia	310.37	1996	294.74	325.99	0.1	0.1

Case Type	Country	Annual Per Capita Assistance in First 2 Years (in 2000 US$)	Start Year (Yr 1)	Annual Per Capita Assistance (in 2000 US$)		Population (millions)	
				Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 0	Yr 1
UN	East Timor	239.58	1999	198.16	281.01	0.8	0.8
Eur	Albania	73.52	1997	56.37	90.67	3.1	3.1
Eur	Sierra Leone	21.48	1998	25.78	17.18	4.3	4.4
Eur	Macedonia	125.10	2001	119.70	130.51	2.0	2.0
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	36.34	2002	59.12	13.56	17.3	17.6
Eur	DR Congo	61.85	2003	93.86	29.85	54.2	55.9
Eur	Bosnia (II)	141.89	2004	159.80	123.98	3.9	3.9
Aus	Solomon Islands	181.27	2003	124.52	238.02	0.5	0.5

NOTE: For the German population from 1946 onward, population is extrapolated based on ratio of the West German population to the U.S. sector in 1946.

[a] Per capita aid to Germany is aid to the U.S. sector only.

SOURCES: World Bank, World Development Indicators Database; World Bank, "Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Loan in the Amount of DEM 74 Million (US$46.6 Million Equivalent) to the Republic of Croatia for a Reconstruction Project for Easter Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srijem," May 21, 1998, p. 5; Moalla-Fetini et al. (2005, p. 65); John Killick, *The United States and European Reconstruction 1945–1960*, Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997, p. 72; Theodore Cohen, *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal*, New York: Free Press, 1987, p. 144.

POPULATION DATA: IMF, International Financial Statistics database; IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2007b; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Global IDP Database ("Profile of Internal Displacement: Croatia," May 27, 2004); Statistical Office of Kosovo (2004, pp.6–7; 2007, p. 8); Moalla-Fetini et al. (2005, p. 60); Mitchell (1992, pp. 85–86); Banks, Cross-National Time Series: 1815–1973, database; Taeuber (1949, p. 84).

Table A.10
GDP Growth Data

Case Type	Country	Avg. Per Capita GDP Growth Over First 5 Yrs (%)	Annual GDP Growth (%)					Start Year (Yr 0)
			Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 3	Yr 4	Yr 5	
U.S.	Germany	14.39	23	19	16	14	10	1946
U.S.	Japan	6.44	9	8	15	7	10	1945
U.S.	Haiti	1.50	4	3	3	2	3	1994
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	20.26	61	30	18	10	5	1995
U.S.	Kosovo	7.17	16	1	3	3	2	2000
U.S.	Afghanistan	8.29	16	8	14	8	—	2002
U.S.	Iraq	13.38	47	–1	6	—	—	2003
UN	Belgian Congo	0.53	1	2	4	6	4	1960
UN	Namibia	1.51	8	6	7	–2	7	1989
UN	El Salvador	5.41	12	12	6	7	2	1991
UN	Cambodia	3.35	7	4	9	7	5	1991
UN	Mozambique	3.52	7	7	3	7	11	1992
UN	East Timor	–2.70	17	–7	–6	0	2	2000
Eur	Albania	6.27	8	7	8	6	3	1997
Eur	Sierra Leone	5.58	–8	4	18	27	9	1998
Eur	Macedonia	2.83	1	3	4	4	4	2001
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	–0.90	–2	2	1	1	—	2002
Eur	DR Congo	2.97	7	6	5	—	—	2003
Eur	Bosnia (II)	4.96	5	6	—	—	—	2004
Aus	Solomon Islands	2.91	8	5	5	—	—	2003

NOTE: No data were available for Somalia and Eastern Slavonia, so they are not included in this table.

Table A.10—Continued

SOURCES: IMF, International Financial Statistics database; IMF, *International Financial Statistics Yearbook*, 2003, Washington, D.C., 2003a, p. 206; Mitchell (1992, pp. 421, 423); B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Africa, Asia, and Oceania 1750–1993*, 3rd ed., New York: Stockton Press, 1998, pp. 347–348; IMF, *World Economic Outlook: Public Debt in Emerging Markets*, Washington, D.C., September 2003c, p. 183; IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2007b; Dimitri G. Demekas, Johannes Herderschee, and Davina Jacobs, *Progress in Institution-Building and the Economic Policy Challenges Ahead*, Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, December 6, 2001, p. 22; Moalla-Fetini et al. (2005, p. 60).

GDP DEFLATORS: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Current-Dollar and "Real" Gross Domestic Product, data current through June 28, 2007.

EURO EXCHANGE RATE: IMF, International Financial Statistics database.

Table A.11
Population

Case Type	Country	Population (millions)					
		Yr 0	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 3	Yr 4	Yr 5
U.S.	Germany	18.2	18.5	19.0	19.3	19.7	19.9
U.S.	Japan	72.2	75.8	77.5	79.5	81.3	83.8
U.S.	Haiti	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.6	7.7	7.8
U.S.	Bosnia (I)	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8
U.S.	Kosovo	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1
U.S.	Afghanistan	22.4	23.0	23.6	24.3	25.1	25.8
U.S.	Iraq	26.9	27.5	28.0	28.5	—	—
UN	Belgian Congo	15.5	15.9	16.3	16.7	17.2	17.7
UN	Namibia	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6
UN	El Salvador	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.7	5.8
UN	Cambodia	10.1	10.4	10.7	11.1	11.4	11.7
UN	Mozambique	14.2	14.8	15.3	15.9	16.3	16.7
UN	East Timor	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0
Eur	Albania	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1
Eur	Sierra Leone	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.7	4.9	5.1
Eur	Macedonia	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Eur	Côte d'Ivoire	17.3	17.6	17.9	18.2	18.5	18.8
Eur	DR Congo	54.2	55.9	57.5	59.3	61.1	—
Eur	Bosnia (II)	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.0	—	—
Aus	Solomon Islands	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	—

NOTE: For the German population from 1946 onward, population is extrapolated based on ratio of total population to the U.S. sector in 1946.

SOURCES: IMF, International Financial Statistics database; IMF, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2007; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Global IDP Database ("Profile of Internal Displacement: Croatia," May 27, 2004); Statistical Office of Kosovo (2004, pp. 6–7; 2007, p. 8); Moalla-Fetini et al. (2005, p. 60); Mitchell (1992, pp. 85–86); Banks, Cross-National Time Series: 1815–1973, database; Taeuber (1949, p. 84).

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